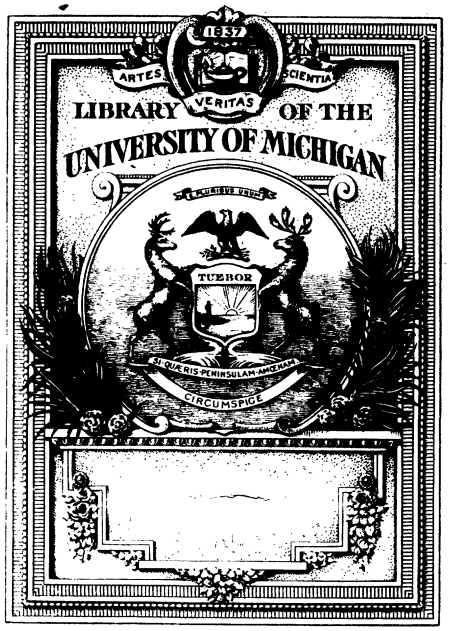
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E. A. Lowe
March 31/54



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THE
BENEVENTAN SCRIPT

A HISTORY OF
THE SOUTH ITALIAN MINUSCULE

BY

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OF WASHINGTON

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TO

JAMES LOEB

PATRON OF LIBERAL LEARNING

AT HOME AND ABROAD

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED

IN GRATITUDE AND DEVOTION

Absit tamen ut hac in re magisterii partes mihi arrogem. Quippe in republica litteraria omnes liberi sumus. Leges ac regulas proponere omnibus licet, imponere non licet. Praevalent istae, si veritate ac recto judicio fulciantur: sin minus, ab eruditis et recte sentientibus merito reprobantur. J. MABILLON.

PREFACE

THE present work is an essay in regional palaeography. Its inception goes back to my student days at the University of Munich. My master, Ludwig Traube, had proposed to me the thesis 'Monte Cassino as a centre for the transmission of Latin classics'. After spending some time on this subject it became clear that adequate treatment of it would be possible only after acquiring such a knowledge of the peculiar script used at Monte Cassino as would enable me to make sound and independent judgements with regard to the dates of Monte Cassino MSS., that is, MSS. written in the Beneventan or South Italian minuscule. Thus I conceived the idea of making a careful study of the script employed throughout the lower half of the Italian peninsula.

Traube made no objection to my working on a subject of my own choice; but with characteristic generosity put at my disposal his entire library, his very large collection of facsimiles, and even some of his own notes. Owing to my ill health I had not the fortune to put into Traube's hands the completed study. But I had at least the satisfaction of knowing that he approved of the results reached before his death. All who knew Traube know that he was like a father to his pupils. No one can feel more keenly than I the loss my work has suffered by want of his guidance and criticism; and the best verdict I could hope for upon this book would be that it was at least conceived in Traube's spirit.

The claim the present work may make upon the attention of scholars is that the results embodied in it are drawn almost

entirely from the original sources, the MSS. themselves. It is not the merit but the good fortune of the author that he has been able to investigate nearly all the extant material in his field; for through the support both of individuals and of institutions, he has been privileged in quite extraordinary measure, in being given the opportunity to visit all the libraries containing MSS. that concerned him, and to devote unhindered ample time upon them. But it is none the less true that this book stands upon the shoulders of its predecessors; and it is thanks to the pioneer labours of those who preceded me that I could take full advantage of the opportunity I had. The works of the illustrious Monte Cassino scholars Caravita, Tosti, Amelli, and Piscicelli Taeggi have made my own possible.

Caravita wrote before the new era in palaeography ushered in by Delisle and Traube, and his work is weak on the palaeographical side. He is at sea when confronted by MSS. not written in the South Italian hand. And even in the case of South Italian MSS. his dates are not always reliable. His classification of the MSS. into strict groups is often arbitrary and sometimes clearly mistaken. There is also some confusion in the press-marks. But these defects may be passed over in view of the great services he rendered in making such rich stores of material accessible to scholars. What has been said of Caravita may fairly be said of the great catalogue of Monte Cassino manuscripts, the *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, which we owe to the untiring diligence of Tosti, Amelli, and their coadjutors. In giving a facsimile of each MS. described in the first four volumes of the catalogue its editors put palaeographers under great obligation. Yet the student who depends solely upon this catalogue for his knowledge of Beneventan writing cannot avoid wrong impressions, since the reproductions, being in lithograph, want that accuracy

which can only be achieved by a mechanical process. But neither Caravita nor the editors of the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* aimed at making contributions to palaeography. The publication which, on the palaeographical side, is our chief, indeed our only, source of information regarding the South Italian script came from the pen of Dom Odorisio Piscicelli Taeggi, formerly of Monte Cassino, now of Bari. His *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino* is, as the title suggests, primarily interested in the artistic aspect of the Monte Cassino MSS. Yet the short and well-written preface to the section entitled *Longobardo-Cassinese* is the most important palaeographical contribution we have on the subject, and all our text-books base on it. But the work is expensive and not easily accessible; and the chromo-lithograph facsimiles, although executed with admirable care, and most valuable for giving an idea of the colours used by the miniaturists, are open to the same objection as those in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis*. They can lay no claim to absolute accuracy.

Another study deserving of mention is Professor Rodolico's 'Genesi e svolgimento della scrittura Longobardo-Cassinese'. It marks in several respects an advance upon Piscicelli Taeggi. It too is limited in its scope to the study of the MSS. preserved at Monte Cassino; but it furnishes some new observations and rectifies some old errors. It contains, to be sure, some faulty and premature conclusions, but these would undoubtedly have been revised had the author extended his researches over a larger field. The short paper entitled *Della scrittura Longobarda nelle sue diverse fasi* (Rome, 1906), by A. Morinello, would not have been mentioned here but for the fact that it appears as an authority in one of the best text-books on palaeography. It is only fair to the author to state that the pamphlet, which is simply an account of six MSS. preserved at Naples, was meant for private circu-

lation, and makes no pretension to being a contribution to the science.

The aim of the present work has been to give a history of the South Italian minuscule, and to deal with the various problems it presents. In treating some questions briefly and others at great length, I have been guided by the palaeographical importance of each question discussed. In the historical introduction, Monte Cassino may perhaps appear to occupy too much space, but this was inevitable in view of the importance of Monte Cassino both as a seat of learning and as a scriptorium. It seemed important to treat fully the subject of the name, to point out the hopeless confusion which arises from the ambiguous term Lombardic, and to justify the claims of the name Beneventan. Another question of importance was the demarcation of the Beneventan zone. I have given a list of all the centres whence Beneventan MSS. are known to have come, and also a list of the MSS. which are to be connected with each centre. The use of Beneventan writing in Dalmatia is of interest both to the palaeographer and to the student of western culture. The Italian origin of our script needed no elaborate demonstration, as it is admitted now on all sides, yet it seemed necessary to discuss in detail the theory that the Visigothic script influenced the development of the Beneventan and to show that this view is unsupported by facts. In the chapter on abbreviations I consciously transgressed the limits of my subject proper and gave a short sketch of the development of abbreviations in Latin MSS. I did this partly to render more intelligible the discussion of the Beneventan abbreviations, and partly to make Traube's results accessible in English. This chapter may be found to be the most useful in the book. In dealing with such a mass of details as that presented by the abbreviations found in hundreds of MSS., it was necessary to suppress everything

which tended to blur the clear outline of the development. It will be seen that a careful study of the development of several abbreviations has furnished trustworthy, objective dating criteria. In the discussion of the Beneventan sign of interrogation an attempt has been made, I believe for the first time, to touch upon a subject which will in the future receive more careful attention from palaeographers. The Beneventan method of punctuating interrogative sentences throws considerable light on the manner in which such sentences were read. It also provides the palaeographer with a most interesting touchstone for detecting Beneventan influence. In formulating the rules and traditions of the script I have tried to show what is essentially Beneventan. Given the Beneventan alphabet and a knowledge of the rules, any one could write correct Beneventan—a fact which I have tested by applying the rules myself in connexion with a fragment which was mistaken for Beneventan.

The Appendix demands a few words of explanation. It contains a list of over 600 Beneventan MSS., if fragments are included. Its value lies in the fact that it includes only genuine South Italian products. Nearly all the MSS. mentioned have been examined by me either in the original or in facsimile. In the case of the few MSS. which I have not seen, I have stated in each case on whose authority the MS. was included. Owing to the promiscuous use of the term Lombardic and the rather vague appreciation of what is and what is not Beneventan, it was impossible to admit without verification MSS. elsewhere described as Lombardic, Cassinese, or even Beneventan. This will explain the omission from my list of a number of MSS. which might be suspected to be South Italian products. The type of minuscule closely resembling the Beneventan, which was in use in North Italy during the ninth century, does not come within

the scope of the present study, and I have for that reason excluded such MSS. as Vercelli 99, Milan Ambros. B 31 sup., Bamberg B III 30, Rome Sessor. 40 (1258), and many others. It would have added greatly to the value of the list if references had been given to published facsimiles and literature. But a complete and adequate bibliographical study I was unable to give here, and it must be reserved for a future occasion, should it be found advisable to publish such a study. It often happens that an apparently insignificant fact proves of importance in reconstructing the history of a MS. Hence it seemed necessary (except, for obvious reasons, in the case of Monte Cassino) to take account of MSS. which showed only a line or two of Beneventan, or a Beneventan fly-leaf. It would perhaps have been more scientific not to assign dates to the MSS. in the list, especially as some of them were examined by me several years ago and it is likely I should now modify my judgement in some cases. But the discrepancy, I believe, would never be very material; so that on the whole it seemed best to consult the convenience of the student rather than my own reputation for strictly accurate dating. Where my dates differ from those of Caravita and others, this is not due to oversight on my part but to difference of opinion. The list will doubtless receive many additions, but that it is as full as it is, is owing to the help I had from Traube, from the works of the Monte Cassino scholars mentioned above, and from those of Bannister, Bethmann, Ebner, Ehrensberger, Hartel-Loewe, Reifferscheid, and Schenkl.

It has taken me many years to do this work—I prefer not to think how many—and it would have taken me much longer but for the assistance accorded me on all sides. First and foremost I am indebted to Traube—a debt which has reference not only to the present book but to any future work in palaeography as well. Next after Traube I owe profound

gratitude to Father Ehrle, the Prefect of the Vatican Library, whom to know is an ethical education. During the years I was privileged to work in the Vatican Library his interest, encouragement, and advice never failed me. My work has likewise profited greatly from the unstinted assistance of the Vatican Scriptores, to all of whom I here express my thanks: to Dott. Carusi, Abbé Liebaert, Mgr. Mercati, Prof. Nogara, Mgr. Stornaiolo, and Mgr. Vattasso. My debt to Monte Cassino is second only to that I owe to the Vatican. To the former Librarian of the Abbey, P. Ambrogio Amelli, as well as to the present Keeper of the Archives, Dom Simplicio de Sortis, I am deeply obliged, for the liberality with which they allowed me to make use of their treasures. And I am grateful as well for the hospitality I enjoyed at the hands of Abbot Kruger and his successor. My sojourns at Monte Cassino, one of the most beautiful and venerable shrines of western Christendom, have been experiences not easily forgotten.

I am under obligation for courtesy and assistance to all the libraries visited; and in particular to the following librarians: Dr. H. Fischer of Bamberg, Canonico G. Cangiani of Benevento, Dr. A. Holder of Carlsruhe, Dom Leone Cerasoli of the Abbey at La Cava, Cav. G. Biagi and Prof. E. Rostagno of the Laurenziana, Sir Frederick G. Kenyon, Dr. J. P. Gilson, and Mr. J. A. Herbert of the British Museum, Prof. P. Guidi of Lucca, Mgr. A. Ratti of the Ambrosiana, Dr. G. Leidinger and Dr. E. Petzet of Munich, Prof. E. Martini and M. Fava of Naples, Mr. F. Madan of the Bodleian, MM. H. Omont, L. Dorez, and P. Lauer of the Bibliothèque Nationale; at Rome, Cav. I. Giorgi of the Casanatense, Dott. G. Gabrieli of the Corsiniana, G. Cordella of the Vallicelliana, and Prof. A. Tenneroni of the Vittorio Emanuele; Dott. A. Spagnolo of Verona, the late Dr. Beer, J. Bick, and F. Menčik of Vienna. My thanks are also due to Mgr.

Duchesne, Head of the École de Rome, and to the authorities of the Prussian and Austrian Institutes, and to Prince Chigi, for permission to use their various libraries.

Of individual scholars who have furthered my work, I have especial pleasure in mentioning the Rev. H. M. Bannister, to whom I am grateful for constant kindnesses. His great store of liturgical knowledge he has always generously put at my disposal, and his unusual familiarity with the Vatican MSS. has contributed much to the completeness of my list of Beneventan MSS. As for Prof. W. M. Lindsay, it is impossible for me to express here the gratitude I feel for all he has done for me. To him I am indebted for unfailing guidance, advice, and solicitude extended over a period of many years; for all of which I here make hearty, if inadequate, acknowledgement. To Prof. A. Souter I am sincerely grateful for his having assumed the tedious task of reading my proof-sheets, and for having saved me by his experience and knowledge from a number of errors. To Dom A. Wilmart I am grateful for going over the whole of my book both in MS. and in proof. His suggestions and corrections have been invaluable. For many kindnesses I am indebted to my friends and fellow-pupils with Traube, Prof. C. H. Beeson, Dr. P. Lehmann, and Dr. S. Tafel. To my old friend and former teacher, Dr. L. L. Forman, especial gratitude is due. And, finally, for various kind offices I wish here to express my thanks to Prof. A. C. Clark, Prof. C. U. Clark, Dom D. De Bruyne, Prof. P. Fedele, Prof. V. Federici, Prof. G. Götz, Prof. J. L. Heiberg, Dr. M. R. James, Prof. E. Monaci, Prof. E. v. Ottenthal, Prof. O. Plasberg, Dr. H. Pogatscher, R. Poupardin, C. L. Ricketts, Prof. L. Schiaparelli, Dr. F. Schneider, Prof. F. Steffens, Prof. Fr. Vollmer, Dr. W. Weinberger, Dr. H. Zimmermann, V. Butler, F. Hall, and H. T. Porter.

For three years I carried on my studies as Carnegie Research

Associate at the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. To its Director, Prof. J. B. Carter, and to Professors J. C. Rolfe and W. Dennison, I here express my thanks. In 1911 I became directly connected with the Carnegie Institution of Washington. As one of its Research Associates, I have been enabled to continue my palaeographical investigations. I take the liberty of expressing here my sense of gratitude to President Woodward for his encouragement of my researches.

To the Delegates of the Clarendon Press I wish to express my appreciation of the honour they did me in accepting this work for publication. I am also obliged to the Secretary to the Delegates, and to the Assistant Secretary, for their kindness in many particulars connected with the printing of the book, in especial for having many new types cut for me. Acknowledgements are also due to Mr. Horace Hart and his able staff for the patience and ingenuity with which they solved the difficult technical problems presented by the book. But above all I must thank the readers who read the book for press, and by their vigilance and expert knowledge purged it of many errors and inconsistencies.

I have reserved for the last the expression of my indebtedness to the man whose name I am privileged to inscribe in this book. From the time I left America to begin my studies abroad, he has never ceased to aid and encourage my work in every possible way; and that I have been able to pursue my investigations uninterruptedly is in very large measure due to his generosity. No one knows better than the author the shortcomings of this book; but such as it is, it could never have been printed had not Traube been my master and James Loeb my friend.

OXFORD,
February 10, 1914.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 17. Madrid 19 (A 16) is here included on the authority of P. v. Winterfeld. Loewe did not describe the MS. as Cassinese, and Prof. B. L. Ullman, who kindly examined the MS. for me, was not inclined to consider it Beneventan either.

p. 30 and n. 2. For Janelli read Jannelli. The same correction is to be made on p. 54, n. 2.

p. 52, n. 5. See also De Vita, *Antiquitates Beneventanae*, ii. 408 sqq.

p. 108. With regard to the history of the Visigothic MS. Verona LXXXIX see the interesting conjecture made by Dom G. Morin in *Rev. Bénéd.* xxx (1913) 115, to which Dom Wilmart kindly called my attention.

p. 112. On the vogue of Isidore of Seville see now C. H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien*, in *Quellen u. Unters. zur lat. Phil. d. Mittelalters*, iv. 2 (Munich, 1913).

p. 152. According to H. M. Bannister the fly-leaves of Vatic. lat. 968 are in the Bari type of writing.

p. 181, n. 1. The form gloa also occurs in the Anglo-Saxon MS. Oxford Bodl. Laud lat. 108 (fol. 64^{v}), from Würzburg.

p. 262. The suprascript interrogation-sign is found in Monte Cassino 361 (Petrus Diaconus, &c.), saec. xii.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE history of a script which lasted five centuries is indissolubly bound up with the history of the region in which it was used. Such a script would of necessity receive some impress of the intellectual and political movements of its locality, and thus act as a register, as well as a medium, of culture. The study of such a script does well then to take cognizance of the *milieu* of its development; and will become more fruitful by extending its inquiry to the books written in the script, to the centres prominent for copying activity, and to the personages, literary and political, who fostered the culture they inherited.

This is not the place for a history of the culture of southern Italy. Yet a brief sketch of the main events affecting the region in the Middle Ages seems indispensable, and will, I hope, suffice for an introduction to the chapters following. I shall content myself with grouping the incidents to be narrated around the vicissitudes of the mother-house of occidental monasticism, Monte Cassino. She was for the period the great centre of light and learning, the leader and model of all the smaller schools. And owing to her geographical situation and extensive feudal possessions no event of real importance in southern Italy left her untouched.

In the history of western culture southern Italy has played if not a leading certainly a significant part. It has well been pointed out, that from the beginning her mission was to preserve and hand on what she got from others. It was a little Greek colony in southern Italy that brought the alphabet to Rome. When Rome fell and the German barbarians swept over Italy, it was a son of the extreme south who did much to save profane learning from impending destruction. A south Italian abbey became the mother-house of the order which more than any

other institution offered for centuries an asylum to learning and the arts. It was, again, largely through southern Italy that the wisdom of the East was made accessible to the West. Contact with Greek culture southern Italy probably never lost; and new treasures were opened up by the translation movement that began under the Normans in Sicily and was continued by their Suabian and Angevin successors. It was from a Calabrian that the first humanist learned his Greek; and it was a Sicilian who, in the memorable year 1423, brought back with him from Constantinople classics unread for a thousand years.

Harassed and exploited by one barbarian foe after another, Italy lay at the end of the 5th century impoverished and exhausted. Her art and learning had sunk so low that they might perhaps have perished in the tumult of the invasions which followed, had they not found asylum in the monasteries. The nobler spirits of the time flocked in great numbers into the religious houses. Civic and political virtue had apparently died out. The affairs of this world presented a sickening aspect; and men and women felt that there was no other path to the better life than through the gates of the cloister.

It is no wonder then, that the three prominent men with whose works the annals of the Middle Ages may be said to begin had each spent a greater or smaller portion of his life within the walls of a monastery. St. Benedict, Cassiodorus, and Gregory the Great had all been monks; and each did distinct service for the monasticism of the West: the first by furnishing a Rule suited to the needs of the Occident; the second by encouraging the monks to foster liberal learning; the last by protecting and championing the cause of the monastic order.

In 529 St. Benedict founded Monte Cassino, and there he wrote his famous *Regula*. Following in the footsteps of St. Basil he composed a Rule which events have proved to be precisely suited to the western genius. It is characterized by mildness and common sense, and differs from its predecessors,

which were based on eastern models, in the 'elimination of austerity and in the sinking of the individual in the community'.

In founding the Benedictine order St. Benedict builded better than he knew. He hardly foresaw—and it was certainly not his intention—that his monasteries would become the chief instruments for the transmission of pagan as well as Christian literature. His interest lay in the cultivation not of learning but of piety. His aim was salvation, not knowledge. Yet his Rule left an opening for the seven arts by providing for a library and by demanding of each monk that he should spend two hours daily in reading—during Lent even three hours, and on Sundays and holidays all the time not devoted to divine service. The famous 48th chapter of the Rule says:

> Otiositas inimica est animae; et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina. . . . In quibus diebus quadragesimae accipiant omnes singulos codices de bibliotheca, quos per ordinem ex integro legant.

St. Benedict doubtless referred to the reading of Scripture and the Fathers; but as each monk was given during Lent a separate MS.—and at times the abbey had no less than 200 monks—a large library was indispensable; and this necessitated copying activity.

The impulse to cherish the learning of the past came in the main from Cassiodorus. Nearly all his life had been spent in political activity, as minister of Theodoric and his successors. Towards its close he retired to his own estate in the extreme south of Italy. In Vivarium near Squillace he founded a monastery which in a measure was to take the place of the Christian university he had dreamed of establishing in Rome. In the seclusion of his monastery he developed remarkable literary activity. In writing his *Institutiones divinarum et saecularium litterarum*, an encyclopaedia of sacred and profane learning, he did great service to mankind. For he completed the work of St. Benedict by making the writing of books, the preservation of authors, a sacred duty and an act of piety.

Hardly had the Goths been expelled from Italy when fresh hordes of barbarians poured down from the north. This time a people came who were destined to stay. A little over a decade after the Lombards entered Italy we find them besieging Naples. In 581 they plundered and sacked Monte Cassino. The monks fled to Rome, where Pope Pelagius gave them a home near the Lateran. Here they remained for over 130 years. Of their doings during this time we know, however, very little. Under Gregory the Great they certainly received every possible encouragement. There is a fitness in the fact that the Patriarch of western monasticism should have found his biographer in the greatest of the popes. Considering the popularity of Gregory's *Dialogues*, it is not easy to over-estimate the prestige which accrued to the Benedictine order from the Pope's admiration of its founder. The marvellously rapid extension of the order may be largely due to this very circumstance.

Concerning the monks of Monte Cassino during the 7th century the annals are silent. All we know is that they remained in Rome. The tradition was vague even in the 11th century. The catalogues of abbots which we find in 11th-century MSS. lack the precise dates of the abbots of the 7th century. It is in the beginning of the 8th century that we again touch facts. In the year 717 or 718 Petronax of Brescia, a strong and influential man, was asked by Pope Gregory III to take the monks back to the monastery which had been abandoned for over a century. With gifts from Rome and generous assistance from the neighbouring abbey of St. Vincent on the Volturno, Monte Cassino soon began to prosper, and once more men from different parts of the world sought peace within its cloisters. Some of the books presented to the monks by Pope Gregory's successor, Zacharias, are perhaps still to be found among the extant palimpsests of Monte Cassino.

During this period of reconstruction, at least at the beginning of it, conditions were hardly favourable to literary activity. From one witness of the time, the Anglo-Saxon Willibald, we

learn that even the discipline was lax. This wealthy and pious man, whose religious zeal had led him to make the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, must have been of influence in the abbey, for he was given positions of responsibility there. The presence of this Englishman may have prepared the way for the authors of his native land, Bede and Alcuin, whose popularity became great in the abbey, as elsewhere.

At the same time with Willibald there lived in Monte Cassino a Spanish Presbyter, Diapertus by name. His sojourn is, as far as I know, the first and only evidence of direct contact with Spain.

The fame of the abbey had brought to her during the same century another illustrious stranger, the Bavarian Sturmius, later first abbot of Fulda. It was St. Boniface who sent him to the mother-house to learn the true monastic discipline at its source. Relations of this sort could not have been without beneficial consequences to the abbey.

The prestige of the abbey is again witnessed in the invitation sent by Duke Odilo of Bavaria to monks of Monte Cassino to come and settle at Mondsee near Salzburg. A similar invitation came a little over two centuries later from the King of Hungary.

Two personages of the 8th century bring southern Italy into connexion with Gaul. Ambrosius Autpertus, a native of Gaul, spent the last decades of his life in the Benedictine abbey of St. Vincent on the Volturno. It is interesting to note that one of the earliest copies of his Commentary on the Apocalypse is actually one of the oldest specimens we have of Beneventan writing (Benevento III 9). Again, at the end of the century Monte Cassino was visited by Adalhard of Corbie, then one of the most prominent monasteries in Gaul. This visit may not have been without its influence on our script; for Corbie was then already in possession of a highly developed minuscule, which was far from being the case in Monte Cassino.

Thus the mother-house prospered and grew in fame, and

during the abbacy of Theodemar (778–797) it was accorded quite unusual honours. It had before received into its fold Ratchis, King of the Lombards, and Carloman, brother of Pippin. In 787 Charlemagne himself paid a visit to the shrine of St. Benedict. Later, at his own request, a copy of the Rule was sent him, which was a literal reproduction of the autograph brought back by the monks from Rome. But what gave even more enduring lustre to the abbacy of Theodemar was the sojourn at Monte Cassino of Paulus Diaconus. One of the most learned men of his time, our only source for the early history of the Lombards, Paulus Diaconus had for political reasons left his monastery in the north and become a monk at Monte Cassino before 782. Under his influence the abbey grew into an important school. Pupils came from far and wide. Stephen II of Naples had his clerics sent to Monte Cassino to sit at the feet of the great man. The merit of Paulus did not escape Charlemagne, in whose court the scholar spent some time; but after 787 we find him again at Monte Cassino, where he remained until his death. The stimulus he gave to learning lingered on long after he passed away. Practically all our oldest MSS. in the writing discussed in this book date from the time when Paulus Diaconus was in Monte Cassino; and their contents evince an interest in profane as well as Christian literature. We have Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*, Gregory of Tours' *De cursu stellarum*, Isidore's *Etymologiae*, and a large collection of grammatical treatises, viz. the MSS. Bamberg HJ IV 15, Cava 2, and Paris lat. 7530.

During the 9th century southern Italy felt a reflection of the renaissance that had taken place in France. Monte Cassino can boast of the writers Hildericus, Autpertus, and Bertharius. At the same time Ursus, bishop of Benevento, made an abridgement of Priscian, a contemporary MS. of which we may have in Rome Casanat. 1086. Other 9th-century MSS. also show an interest in grammar. The city of Benevento was reputed to have thirty-two teachers of profane learning (*philosophi*) at the time when Louis II visited it. We have only the

word of the Anonymous Salernitanus for this, but the story must have some basis of truth.

A new enemy put an end to these peaceful activities. The Saracens had swept everything before them. Masters of Palermo by the year 831, Tarentum and Bari fell into their hands between 840 and 850. In the next two decades everything south of Rome and east of the Abruzzi was in their possession. The Greeks were too weak, the Lombards too much divided among themselves, to offer adequate resistance. Not before Louis II came in 871 was Bari relieved of its thirty years' yoke. No sooner had he left the country than the Saracens were threatening Benevento and Salerno.

On the 22nd of October, 883, the prosperous rule of Abbot Bertharius was cut short by the appearance of the enemy at Monte Cassino. The Saracens sacked and plundered the abbey. The abbot fell into their hands. The monks who managed to escape fled to Teano near Capua. One of their number was Erchempert, who after Paulus Diaconus continues the history of the Lombards to the year 889. As a historian he is superior to his contemporaries; and he is our main source for the sad and turbulent events of the 9th century.

Further misfortunes soon overtook the fugitive monks. The monastery at Teano was burned down, and in it perished their most precious treasure, the Rule which St. Benedict had written with his own hand. The monks sought refuge in Capua, where they lived for over half a century. Their sojourn here marks a new epoch of the script. For a generation they made good use of peace and security. They produced a number of MSS., the first in fact which evince distinct progress in calligraphy and ornamentation. But the monks of St. Benedict did not remain untouched by the moral degeneration of the 10th century. Like other Italian monasteries, theirs also stood in need of the reform which came from Cluny; and though Cassinese tradition is silent on the subject there can be little doubt that at least indirectly they were influenced by Odo's reforms, since we know

from another source that the Cassinese abbots Balduin and Aligern were pupils of Odo.

Owing to troubles which arose with the Capuan princes, Aligern in 949 led the monks back to Monte Cassino. From now on, the abbey was destined to enjoy almost two centuries of ever-increasing prosperity. It was while Aligern was abbot that St. Nilus visited Monte Cassino and established his monks in the neighbouring monastery of Vallelucio. His sojourn here as well as in Capua and Gaeta is of interest because it may be supposed that the meeting of Greek and Latin monks was mutually beneficial. We cannot say what specific gain the Latins had therefrom, but we are certain that the Greeks learnt from their Latin hosts that peculiar style of initial decoration which we find in so many south Italian Greek MSS. and which distinguishes them at once from Greek MSS. of the Levant.

When Aligern's abbacy, which lasted twenty-seven years (949–986), came to an end he was succeeded by Manso, a relative of the Capuan princes, through whose influence alone he gained his position. As he was not the choice of the monks, his election bred dissension. Some of the bravest of them left the abbey rather than submit, among these being John of Benevento and Theobald, both destined later to become abbots of Monte Cassino, and Liutius, the future provost of S. Maria di Albaneta. These three made a journey to the Holy Land; the other seceding monks went to Lombardy and founded monasteries there.

In the 10th century, admittedly the darkest of the Middle Ages, the flame of learning was still kept alive in southern Italy. From extant MSS. we can discern the interest felt in the classics, medicine, history, poetry, and canon law. The number of interesting books read and copied is by no means small. Among them I may mention Virgil, Livy, Josephus, the fables of Hyginus, Solinus; Dioscorides, Galen, and an extraordinary compendium of the medical knowledge of the period; Paulus' commentary on St. Benedict's Rule, the works of St.

Gregory, collections of canons, writings of the Fathers, &c. (see the 10th-century MSS. reproduced in *Scriptura Beneventana*, plates 31–55).

The works of several writers of the period have come down to us. At the beginning of the century we encounter two curious authors, Auxilius, a Gaul by birth, and Eugenius Vulgarius, probably an Italian grammarian. Their work—which throws lurid light upon a disgraceful episode in papal history—we have in a Beneventan MS. (Bamberg P III 20) which I venture to regard as contemporaneous. John, deacon of Naples, continues the *Gesta Episcoporum* of his city. From him we have also a life of Bp. Athanasius I and an account of the transfer of the relics of St. Severinus. In Naples too we witness the interesting literary activity of Duke John and his consort. At his request the Presbyter Leo collected and had copied the works of numerous writers, among whom are mentioned Livy, Josephus, and Dionysius. To Leo we also owe a translation of the *Vita Alexandri magni*, which he had brought from Constantinople (see below, p. 82). In secular history the work of Paulus Diaconus and Erchempert is continued, with far less skill and acumen, by the anonymous monk of Salerno. Another historical treatise, of no great significance in itself, should be mentioned, the *Historia miscella* of Landolfus Sagax, which continues the *Historia Romana* of Paulus Diaconus to the year 813. The author lived and wrote about the year 1000, probably in Naples. A contemporaneous MS. of his work (Vatic. Pal. lat. 909) though not, as has been stated, an autograph, is in existence.

The year 1000 came and went without bringing the dreaded end of terrestrial things. On the contrary it ushered in an era of extraordinary political and intellectual activity. Three events stand out with especial prominence. The Normans, that wonderful people from the north, arrive in southern Italy and soon become its conquerors. The German emperors take an unusually active part in Italian affairs. Lastly, the tem-

poral power of the popes sees a remarkable increase. The Roman pontiff defies the German emperor and takes part in the struggle for the possession of Italy. In the long contest the powers are grouped now in this way, now in that; and Monte Cassino, rich and strong, is an important factor throughout. From the middle of the century she throws in her lot with the papacy and becomes one of its main stays. It is not mere accident that within a generation two Cassinese abbots become popes, that several abbots and even monks receive the cardinal's hat, and that the greatest pope of the century is the close friend of the greatest abbot of Monte Cassino. Nothing again, as has well been shown, is more indicative of the relation between the abbey and the Roman See than the fact that another pope, Nicholas II, made Abbot Desiderius his apostolic vicar in the entire lower half of the peninsula. That under these circumstances the monastery should grow in fame as well as in fortune goes without saying. But it is not these events alone that made the century memorable in the annals of Monte Cassino. Its destinies were guided by men of remarkable ability and they had the secret of gathering about them the best talent of their age.

The century which was to witness the golden era in the history of Monte Cassino was fittingly begun under the abbots Atenolf (1011–22) and Theobald (1022–35). Leo Ostiensis tells us that up to their time the abbey had been but poorly supplied with books. From now on, the zeal with which books were copied, the care expended upon the work, and the imposing size and beauty of the MSS. give earnest of the perfect products to follow in the Desiderian period.

Even as provost in S. Liberatore, a monastery at the foot of Mt. Majella in the Abruzzi, Theobald had been instrumental in having over thirty books copied, as he tells us in his will made in 1019 (see below, p. 79 sq.). As abbot of Monte Cassino his interest did not abate. From a catalogue entered in two MSS. of the time, probably at his command, we learn what were the very books which he ordered to be written.

A number of them are also mentioned by the chronicler Leo. Besides Augustine and Gregory, we note that history was read, the *Historia Romana*, the *Historia Langobardorum*. The list includes the encyclopaedia of Hrabanus Maurus, the *Leges Langobardorum*, and others (see below, p. 80 sq.).

After the death of Theobald the monastery was once more harassed by the Capuan princes. This time help came from without, and the fact is important, for it marks the beginning of German influence in the abbey. The Emperor Conrad came to the rescue and brought with him a German abbot to take charge of the monks. With Richerius (1038–55), who came to Monte Cassino from the monastery of Leno near Brescia, where he had been abbot, fresh zeal entered into the life of Monte Cassino. Some two decades later another German played a prominent part in the affairs of the monastery—Frederick of Lorraine. Having sought refuge there from the wrath of the emperor he was elected abbot in 1056, to become pope as Stephen IX two years later. The presence of Germans in Monte Cassino and the fact that they held positions of importance must have left its mark on the abbey. As a matter of fact, after Frederick's abbacy a style of initial decoration comes into vogue which is manifestly of German origin. And it seems a reasonable hypothesis which would connect the famous MS. of the *Annals* and *Histories* of Tacitus with the two German abbots of Monte Cassino. For Tacitus, as we know, was read in Germany during centuries when apparently no trace of him existed in Italy. The 11th-century MS. of Widukind's *Res gestae Saxonicae* which we find in Monte Cassino (MS. 298) may have a similar origin.

The next abbot is the great Desiderius (1058–87). Dauferius—such was his real name—was born at Benevento of noble stock. From his boyhood the religious life strongly appealed to him. But owing to parental objections he had to run away to become a monk. A quiet monastic life, however, was not to be his lot. His character and abilities placed him in positions of eminence not of his seeking. Thus

when Frederick of Lorraine was made pope, the abbacy fell upon Desiderius. As friend of his predecessor, now become Stephen IX, and of Hildebrand, later Gregory VII, he was naturally a staunch supporter of papal policy. But he was also the political friend of the Normans. Under his rule Monte Cassino sees its era of true greatness. Gifts and grants received from popes and emperors had in the past greatly swelled the revenues of the abbey—she had possessions along the Adriatic, in Apulia, in the Abruzzi, even in Lombardy. Under the leadership of Desiderius her fortunes became still more imposing. This is not the place to describe the part he played in the affairs of southern Italy. What interests us here is the fact that under him learning and the arts received a powerful impulse. Not only did he renew and embellish the buildings of the abbey, but he erected a magnificent new basilica, decorated with mosaics by workmen brought over from Constantinople—an event in the history of Italian art. It is an old observation that the temper of an age is reflected in its calligraphic products. The MSS. copied under Desiderius—many of which have come down to us—mark the highest achievement in Beneventan penmanship. And the literary interest of the period may be judged to some extent by the books then produced. The ancient Chronicle of Monte Cassino gives a long and interesting list of the books copied in the abbacy of Desiderius. It contains chiefly theological and liturgical works, but there are several histories: Josephus, Gregory of Tours, Paulus Diaconus, Erchempert, and others; there are also several classics: *De natura deorum* of Cicero, the *Institutiones* and *Novellae* of Justinian, the *Fasti* of Ovid, Virgil's *Eclogues*, Terence, Horace, Seneca, the grammatical works of Theodorus and Donatus (see below, p. 81 sq.).

Himself a learned writer, Desiderius gathered about him and encouraged literary ability of every sort. Alfanus, later bishop of Salerno, noted as physician, poet, and theologian, was an intimate friend of the abbot, and is supposed to have had great influence with him. Besides Alfanus, Monte Cassino

had at that time Pandolf of Capua, the mathematician and astronomer, Guaiferius, the poet of the abbey, and Alberic, author of a *Liber de dictamine* and a charming life of S. Scholastica. Here should also be mentioned Johannes Caietanus (later Pope Gelasius II) who, as secretary to Pope Urban II, is known to have revived the *cursus*. But the three literary men who have most interest for us are the monks Amatus and Leo, and the physician Constantinus Africanus. To Amatus we are indebted for the earliest account of the Normans. The original of his work is lost; we have it only in an early French translation discovered during the last century by Champollion Figeac. Constantinus Africanus came to Italy as a fugitive from Carthage, where his enemies had accused him of being a magician. Versed in the philosophies, sciences, and languages of the east, Constantinus was a perfect store-house of learning. He lived in Monte Cassino, where he translated many medical works into Latin. He also visited Salerno. His sojourn in southern Italy doubtless added much to the fame of the school of medicine in Salerno.

Leo Ostiensis stands out as one of the most pleasing figures of his time. He is known chiefly as the author—at least in large part—of one of the best chronicles written during the Middle Ages, that of Monte Cassino. He entered the abbey as a boy and while still young had attracted the attention of Abbot Desiderius. As keeper of the archives he was fully equipped for the task imposed upon him by Oderisius, the successor of Desiderius. Despite the fact that the chief aim of the history was to make good the claims of the abbey to the multifarious grants and privileges bestowed or presumably bestowed upon it during its long career, Leo managed to endow his performance with the dignity and seriousness of objective history. He relates events simply, faithfully, and well; he treats of men and affairs with tact and candour. He did not finish his task, for he was made cardinal, and ecclesiastical affairs preoccupied him. In the oldest MS. of the Chronicle, which lies in Munich—MS. 4623—the palaeographer may examine

with delight the writing of Leo himself; and the historian may have the pleasure of seeing the work in the making, for the MS. has in the margin and between the lines the very corrections of the author.

The end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century are times of strife and confusion. To the conflict over the investitures was added the papal schism. Monte Cassino felt the effects of these troubles. And there was something more: its prominence and prosperity in worldly affairs reacted unfavourably upon its general tone. The times of Oderisius and his successors during the early 12th century usher in a new era, the beginning of the decline. With monastic discipline relaxed, with abbots taking part in battles, with politics forming the chief interest, nothing good could be expected. Monte Cassino took the wrong side in the papal schism, and she had to suffer when Innocent II, by the aid of the emperor, became pope.

The figure which may be said to incorporate the virtues and vices of this time is Petrus Diaconus. An indefatigable worker, clever, versatile, and of easy address, his talents won him position, and he was charged by Abbot Rainaldus to continue the history of Monte Cassino which Leo had left at the year 1075. Peter's work was as different from Leo's as was his whole character. His one aim was to glorify himself and his abbey; and to attain this end he did not hesitate to invent documents. His numerous forgeries—some of which had long been recognized as such—have recently been exposed with masterly skill, and Peter stands condemned as a garbler of facts and inventor of falsehoods. As he is his own biographer we cannot be altogether sure even of the events of his life, but this much is quite indisputable: he was a voluminous writer. Besides continuing the Chronicle of Monte Cassino to the year 1138, he has left us a work on the illustrious men of his monastery, one on its saints, and important registers of Cassinese documents, not to mention numerous hagiographic and theological works.

With Petrus Diaconus and the monk Alberic, who wrote a *Vision of Heaven and Hell* which is in some ways a forerunner of Dante's, we take leave of the last striking figures in the literary annals of Monte Cassino—excepting perhaps that of the French abbot Bernard Ayglerius (†1282) who wrote a commentary of the Rule of St. Benedict, a contemporary MS. of which has come down (Monte Cassino 440).

Outside of Monte Cassino evidence is not lacking of considerable culture. Aversa is praised by Alfanus as another Athens; Benevento, St. Vincent on the Volturno, Cava, Naples, Salerno, and Bari have their writers, chroniclers, and annalists. But if we look for the great centre of literary activity in the 12th century we must turn to Sicily. In Palermo, at the court of the Normans, we witness a unique and fascinating spectacle. We find there men from all parts of the world. The new rulers were as wise and tolerant as they were brave. Wherever they saw talent they sought to attract it. And this policy, which served them well in the affairs of government, they carried over into the domain of letters. Thus at the court Greek and Arab, Lombard and Hebrew scholars worked in amity and gave of their best. Under these circumstances Palermo naturally became a great centre for the exchange of ideas, more especially for the spread of eastern ideas. The many Latin translations of Greek and Oriental works that we owe to Sicily bear witness to this intellectual activity. Even in previous centuries, as we have seen, translations of hagiographic and medical works were undertaken in southern Italy. What we witness now in Palermo is a concentrated movement which extended its interests into various branches. What King Roger began Frederick II and his successors continued.

We have come to a new epoch in south Italian history. A civic sense was gradually wakening in the different communes. The Benedictine houses were plainly losing their old supremacy as seats of learning. Inner and outer causes contributed to the decline. They can boast of few writers and thinkers of eminence. The rise of important lay schools, the

new universities of Salerno and Naples, certainly contributed to the diminution of Benedictine prestige. But this was not the only cause. Even as a religious order the Benedictines no longer answered to the needs of the time, as may be seen from the vast extension of the mendicant orders. With the decline of the Benedictine monasteries our script also declines. For the Beneventan script is primarily a Benedictine script.

II

So much for the historical background of our script. We have tried to touch upon the main events, and have made brief mention of the chief literary figures and their works, which constitute the first and most certain test of intellectual life. We should now apply another measure—we should ask what writers were particularly read and copied, and how faithfully their texts were transmitted. It is by applying a test of this sort upon the centres of southern Italy that we first appreciate how much we owe to them for the preservation of ancient and mediaeval writers. But such a task must be left to a more competent hand. Here only a few of the outstanding facts can be given.

More than one of our most cherished classics has been saved from destruction by the hand of a Beneventan scribe. Varro's *De lingua latina* exists only in two Beneventan MSS., Flor. Laurent. 51. 10 saec. xi ex. and Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex., both written in Monte Cassino. The Cassinese have always cherished an affection for Varro as one of their own. Tacitus' *Historiae* (i–v) and *Annales* (xi–xvi) depend upon the single MS. Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 saec. xi med., written in Monte Cassino. The same MS. is our unique source for Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and *Florida*. The copy of the text which was made in the 13th century (Flor. Laurent. 29. 2) is also in Beneventan and comes most likely from Monte Cassino. To have handed on to posterity the works of Varro, Tacitus, and Apuleius is distinction enough for any centre. But we are indebted to Beneventan transmission for some other works.

The most important MS. for Seneca's *Dialogues* is Milan Ambros. C 90 inf. saec. xi ex., from Monte Cassino. Hyginus' *Fabulae* existed only in one Beneventan MS. of the early 10th century, a few fragments of which are still to be seen in Munich (MS. 6437). Our knowledge of the Scholion of Varius' *Thyestes* we owe to two Beneventan MSS., Paris lat. 7530 and Rome Casanat. 1086 saec. ix, written in Benevento. Servius' *De metris Horatianis* depends solely upon Paris lat. 7530. The new thirty-four lines of Juvenal discovered by Winstedt are found only in the Beneventan MS. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41 saec. xi/xii.

The value of Beneventan transmission is also seen in cases where different families of a text exist. Vatic. lat. 3342 saec. x has the best text of Solinus. For the text of Ovid two Beneventan MSS. are of value: Vatic. lat. 3262 saec. xi ex., containing the *Fasti*, and Eton Bl. 6. 5 saec. xi, the *Heroides* and *Remedia Amoris*. As for Cicero, Vatic. lat. 3227 saec. xii in. has the best text of the *Somnium Scipionis* and is the most familiar representative of the Italian family for the *Philippics*. For *De legibus*, Leyden 118 is important. The same MS. contains the *De natura deorum* and *De divinatione*. It is doubtless the very MS. which was copied in Monte Cassino at the order of Abbot Desiderius. The MS. Flor. Laurent. 51. 10 is, apart from Poggio's Cluniacensis, our only source for Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*. Although the Monte Cassino MS. of Frontinus is not in Beneventan, the original probably was. At any rate it is Monte Cassino that has saved this unique work.

Altogether the classics found in Beneventan writing are by no means few. We have Apuleius (Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 saec. xi and 29. 2 saec. xiii), Auctor ad Herennium (Flor. Laurent. 51. 10 saec. xi ex., London Add. MS. 11916 saec. xi ex.), Caesar (Flor. Laurent. 68. 6 saec. xii/xiii), Cicero (Flor. Laurent. 51. 10, Leyden 118 saec. xi ex., Vatic. lat. 3227 saec. xii in., Vatic. Ottob. lat. 1406 saec. xi ex.), Germanicus (Madrid 19 (A 16) saec. xi), Hyginus (Munich 6437 saec. x in.), Juvenal (Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41 saec. xi/xii), Livy (Prague

Univ. 1224 fragm. saec. x), Macrobius (Vatic. Ottob. lat. 1939 saec. xi ex.), Ovid (Eton Bl. 6. 5 saec. xi, Vatic. lat. 3262 saec. xi ex., Naples IV F 3 saec. xii), Sallust (Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii), Seneca (Milan Ambros. C 90 inf. saec. xi ex.), Solinus (Vatic. lat. 3342 saec. x, Monte Cassino 391 saec. xi), Statius (Eton Bl. 6. 5 saec. xi, Vatic. lat. 3281 saec. xii), Tacitus (Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 saec. xi med.), Pompeius Trogus, Justin's Epitome, (Flor. Laurent. 66. 21 saec. xi ex.), Varro (Flor. Laurent. 51. 10 saec. xi ex., Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex.), Vegetius (Vatic. Pal. lat. 909 saec. x/xi), Virgil (Vienna 58, Paris lat. 10308, Vatic. lat. 1573 and 3253, Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 50, and Monte Cassino (*sine numero*) débris of *Aen.* iii–xii), besides the grammarians Servius (Paris lat. 7530, Vienna 27, Vatic. lat. 3317), Priscian (Vatic. lat. 3313, Rome Casanat. 1086, both saec. ix), and anonymous treatises in Paris lat. 7530.

It goes without saying that the region which contained the famous school of Salerno did not lack medical MSS. In Beneventan writing over a dozen have come to my notice, and it is an interesting fact that some of these are older than the date usually given to the beginning of the Salernitan school. Healing the sick was an act of piety. Consequently both St. Benedict's Rule and Cassiodorus' *Institutiones* encourage the study of medicine. And we learn that the Cassinese abbots Bertharius, Aligern, and Desiderius, and Archbishop Alfanus of Salerno had each composed or compiled works in medicine. In his monastery at Vivarium Cassiodorus had, as he himself explicitly tells us (cap. 31), certain works of Hippocrates, Galen, and Dioscorides, both in the original and in Latin translation. It is an instructive fact that the Greek works mentioned by Cassiodorus are the very ones of which Latin versions were known in south Italy, as may be seen from extant Beneventan MSS. These prove conclusively that the Greek physicians were known in south Italy before Constantinus Africanus came to live there. The Beneventan medical MSS. known to me are: Flor. Laurent. 73. 41 saec. ix in.

pseudo-Apuleius, pseudo-Dioscorides, &c.; Monte Cassino 69 saec. ix ex. *Excerpta varia*; Monte Cassino 97 saec. x in. ps.-Apuleius, ps.-Dioscorides, &c.; Glasgow Univ. V 3. 2 saec. x in. Galen, &c.; Munich 337 saec. x Dioscorides; Vienna 68 saec. x ex. Priscianus, Aurelianus, &c.; Monte Cassino 225 saec. xi ex. *Varia*; Monte Cassino 351 saec. xi ex. Paulus of Aegina, *De curatione totius corporis*; Turin K IV 3 saec. xi ex. *Miscellanea Herbaria* (destroyed in fire of 1904); Rome Angelican. 1496 (V 3.3) saec. xi ex. palimpsest, primary script Benev.; Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1628 ff. 19–26 saec. xi ex.; Copenhagen Old Royal Collection 1653 saec. xi ex. Muscio (Soranus), Oribasius; Vatic. Barb. lat. 160 (IX 29) saec xi *Herbarium*, Priscianus, Galen, Oribasius; Rome Basilicanus H 44 saec. xii/xiii *Liber de medicina*. Of these the Munich and Copenhagen MSS. are particularly interesting.

If we turn to mediaeval writings we find, as we should expect, that as regards historical and liturgical works which had their origin in south Italian soil, the Beneventan tradition is either our only authority or a very important witness. I refer to such local histories as the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum* or the Chronicle of Monte Cassino, to such works as Paulus Diaconus' Commentary on St. Benedict's Rule, or the biographies of local saints. Of works not obviously connected with southern Italy, a few may be cited in the transmission of which Beneventan MSS. are important.

One of our chief sources for early Christian liturgy is the description of a journey to Jerusalem made about A.D. 540 —the approximate date assigned to it by recent criticism—by a certain Aetheria of Aquitaine. The *Itinerarium Aetheriae*, formerly known in literature as *Peregrinatio Silviae*, exists only in a Monte Cassino MS. of the 11th century, discovered by Gamurrini and now preserved in Arezzo. The MS. also contains another unique work, Hilary's *Tractatus de mysteriis*, which is probably the very book ordered by Abbot Desiderius.

The *Acta Archelai* of Hegemonius, an anti-Manichaean document of great interest both to the historian and the

theologian, is known to us chiefly in a Latin translation. The *editio princeps* (1698) of this work rested solely upon the Beneventan MS. Monte Cassino 371 saec. xi/xii. For previous to Traube's discovery, which made Beeson's excellent edition possible, the Beneventan MS. was the only complete one known.

A work of Gregory of Tours already mentioned, *De cursu stellarum*, which has become known in the last century in its complete form, has come down only in a Beneventan MS. of the 8th century, Bamberg HJ IV 15. The same MS. is one of our oldest witnesses to Cassiodorus' *Institutiones*. The defence of Pope Formosus, which we have in the curious writings of Auxilius and Eugenius Vulgarius mentioned above, has come down through the 10th-century Beneventan MS. Bamberg P III 20. The oldest papal Register in existence, that of John VIII, is a copy made by some monk of Monte Cassino, whence the book came to the Vatican archives. The Beneventan MS. of Cyprian (Monte Cassino 204 saec. xi) is important for the text of the Epistles and *Testimonia* and is indispensable for reconstructing the archetype. The oldest MS. of Corippus' *Iohannis*—it has been lost since the 16th century—was one of the books written under Abbot Desiderius.

History was a favourite subject in our region. Besides local historians like Paulus Diaconus and Erchempert we find Sallust, Livy, Tacitus, Orosius, Justin's Epitome, Hegesippus, Victor Vitensis, Bede, and Anastasius. To these must be added Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks* and Widukind's *Res gestae Saxonicae*. For the last two the Beneventan texts are of marked importance. South Italian MSS. are also valuable for the transmission of Roman law (*Epitome Iuliani*), of canon law (Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x), of mediaeval glossaries, of the mediaeval novel (Flor. Laurent. 66. 40 saec. ix ex.).

Of the numerous biblical MSS. in Beneventan writing none holds a pre-eminent position. But it is interesting to note that the text of the best Vulgate MSS., the Amiatinus and Lindisfarnensis, is probably derived from MSS. brought to

England from south Italy. The Fuldensis we know was written in Capua.

This survey, brief and summary as it is, will, I hope, at least have given some idea of the importance of the south Italian centres in the transmission of ancient and mediaeval works.

The main works consulted for this chapter are first the sources: 'Leonis Marsicani et Petri Diaconi chronica monasterii Casinensis' (ed. Wattenbach in *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* vii. 551 sqq.) and Petrus Diaconus, *Liber illustrium virorum archisterii Casinensis* (edited and annotated by J.B. Marus, Rome 1655); secondly the books on the history of Monte Cassino: Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Cassinensis* (Venice 1733) and *Accessiones ad historiam abbatiae Cassinensis* (Venice 1734); Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte Cassino* (Naples 1842–3); and Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino* (Monte Cassino 1869–70); thirdly the following works of reference and publications treating different phases of south Italian history and culture: Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia* (Florence 1854–72); Balzani, *Le Cronache italiane nel medio evo*, 2nd ed. (Milan 1900); Batiffol, *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris 1891); Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia* (Naples 1881–92); Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin 1909); Chapman, 'La restauration du Mont-Cassin par l'abbé Pétronax,' in *Rev. Bénédictine*, xxi (1904) 74 sqq., and *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford 1908); De Renzi, *Storia documentata della scuola medica di Salerno*, 2nd ed. (Naples 1857); Franz, *M. Aurelius Cassiodorius Senator* (Breslau 1872); Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 3rd series, 2nd ed.; Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1904); Giacosa, *Magistri Salernitani nondum editi* (Turin 1901); Giesebrecht, *De litterarum studiis apud Italos primis medii aevi saeculis* (Berlin 1845); Hartwig, 'Die Uebersetzungsliteratur Unteritaliens in der normannisch-staufischen Epoche,' in *Centralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, iii (1886) 161 sqq., 223 sqq.; 505 sq.; Haskins and Lockwood, 'The Sicilian Translators of the 12th century,' &c., in *Harvard Studies in Class. Philology*, xxi (1910) 75 sqq.; Hirsch, 'Desiderius von Monte Cassino als Papst Victor III,' in *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, vii (1867) 3 sqq.; Lake, 'The Greek Monasteries in South Italy,' in *Journal of Theol. Studies*, iv (1903) nos. 15 and 16; Mabillon, *Annales ordinis Sancti Benedicti*; Manitius, *Geschichte der lat. Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich 1911); Montalembert (Count de), *The Monks of the West*, vol. i (London 1896), with an introduction by F. A. Gasquet; Ozanam, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire littéraire de l'Italie depuis le viii^e^ siècle jusqu'au xiii^e^* (Paris 1850); Rose, 'Die Lücke im Diogenes Laërtius und der alte Uebersetzer,' in *Hermes*, i (1866) 367 sqq.; Schipa, *Alfano I arcivescovo di Salerno* (Salerno 1880); Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 2nd ed. (Modena 1787–94); Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1911); *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, vol. ii (Munich 1911), and his notes on Monte Cassino as a centre for the transmission of Roman authors; Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i (7th ed.), ii (6th ed.).

CHAPTER II

THE NAME

THE peculiar script which grew up and flourished within the ancient duchy of Benevento, and remained in use for nearly five centuries in the monasteries and schools throughout Southern Italy, extending its domain even across the Adriatic to Dalmatia, we shall consistently call by its most fitting traditional name of Beneventan. Having in its favour antiquity as well as precision—at least relative precision—this name possesses better claims than any other which has been applied to the South Italian minuscule.

Before giving data, however, in support of the name Beneventan, it will be well to clear the field by pointing out the unsuitability of rival names, and in especial of the name Lombardic,[1] which has for centuries been used to designate our script as well as many others, and has thus played an important though unfortunate rôle in palaeography.

Though the name Lombardic, as is now generally known, has no justification in historic fact, it does not lack antiquity. Its use is attested as early as the 11th century. In a document of 1008 an official notary, or curialis, of Naples speaks of a deed made out in Capua as *chartula comparationis scripta langobardisca.*[2] And in a Neapolitan document of 1072 we read that the church of St. Severus, which belonged to the monastery of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, possessed among other books *unum antiphonarium uonum de nocturno langobardiscum notatum.*[3] This designation was manifestly used to describe

[1] Scriptura langobardica, écriture lombardique, &c.

[2] B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historiam pertinentia*, ii. 1 (1885) 204 = Regesta Neapolitana, no. 333.

[3] Capasso, l. c., p. 306=Reg. Neap. no. 511; also cited by P. Fedele in *Archivio storico per le provincie Napolitane*, xxxii (1907) 128.

local writing, in contradistinction to the term *francisca*, which had reference to ordinary minuscule. The local hand is even more precisely described in a document of 1020 in which we find: *uno antefanarium de nocte neapolitanisco.* Another item in the same document reads: *liber comite plenarium franciscum scriptum.*[1] Almost the same words occur in a document of 985: *liuer commite plenarium unum franciscum scriptum.*[2] In a document of Amalfi dated 1007, in which are enumerated the books of John, Presbyter of Fontanella, we read: *eptaticum unum manu francesca . . . libri duo de regum manu francesca . . . ysidorum unum manu francesca.*[3] It is interesting to note that other books mentioned in this inventory have no description of the writing, from which fact it may be inferred that they were in the local or South Italian hand. Again, in a Neapolitan document of 1094 we read of a *iudicatum langobardiscum.*[4] In an inventory made in 1336 of the goods of SS. Philip and James in Veroli, there is a catalogue of the books belonging to St. Mary Magdalene, which I quote below.[5] In it two MSS. are described as written *de littera langobarda*, eight others, however, as *de littera beneuentana*, from which juxtaposition of the two terms it is difficult to say which script precisely was meant by Lombardic.

As might be expected, the Italian humanists were not slow to adopt the name Lombardic to describe difficult and complicated scripts. It was the sort of writing which they would naturally connect with the barbarian conquerors of Italy. Poggio was one of the first to use it. He thus describes the

[1] Capasso, l. c., p. 242=Reg. Neap. no. 387.

[2] Capasso, l. c., p. 154=Reg. Neap. no. 245.

[3] See M. Camera, *Memorie storico-diplomatiche dell'antica città e ducato di Amalfi* (Salerno 1876) i. 221; N. Tamassia, 'Libri di monasteri e di chiese nell' Italia meridionale,' in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, lxiv. 2 (1904–5) p. 281 sq.; Fedele, l. c., p. 129. For other examples see the lecture by Capasso, *Gli archivi e gli studii paleografici e diplomatici* (Naples 1885) p. 9, n. 3. Another example occurs in *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, vi. 182.

[4] Capasso, l. c., p. 345=Reg. Neap. no. 567.

[5] See p. 38.

script of the Laurentian Tacitus, of which he complains that he can hardly find a scribe capable of copying such an illegible hand.[1] Many of his enthusiastic contemporaries still show no idea of script differences.[2] With them—and in fact with many later scholars—nearly every MS. is a *codex antiquissimus* or *vetustus*. But the name soon grows more common among Italian philologists of the Renaissance.[3] Fulvio Orsini entered in his own hand in the fly-leaves of many MSS. the words *in lettera longobarda*. With him, however, the term covered a variety of scripts beside the South Italian.[4]

The MS. Vatic. lat. 5007, containing the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, is written partly in uncial and partly in Beneventan. At the beginning of the Beneventan portion a 15th-century hand entered the words *scripta in lognobardo* (sic).[5] In the 15th-century catalogue of the books of a church of St. Andrew in Rome, one item reads: *Liber iob longobardus*.[6]

[1] See Poggio's well-known letter to Niccolò Niccoli, dated Rome Oct. 21, 1427: 'Misisti mihi librum Senecae et Cornelium Tacitum, quod est mihi gratum: at is est litteris longobardis, et majori ex parte caducis, quod si scissem, liberassem te eo labore.' *Epist.* iii. 15, ed. Tonelli, i. 213 (Florence 1832). In another letter, dated Rome Sept. 3, 1430, and addressed to the same Florentine friend Poggio writes: 'Audivi esse in Monasterio Cassinensi volumen (Hieronymi) litteris longobardis, in quo sint epistolae ccxxv,' *Epist.* iv. 11, ed. Tonelli, i. 321. In another letter Poggio refers to 'decades Livii litteris longobardis scriptas', ed. A. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, x (1844) 316.

[2] Through a kind communication from Prof. R. Sabbadini I learn that this was invariably the case with the earlier humanists.

[3] Politian used it often, and his friend Matteo Bosso asked him for a MS. of Ausonius in Lombardic characters. See Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (Verona 1732) i, col. 321.

[4] P. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini* (Paris 1887) pp. 217, 240, 242, 274, and 275; on pp. 239 and 274 the MSS. Vatic. lat. 3252 and 3339 are wrongly described as Lombardic. The entries signed *Ful. Vrs.* are regarded as autograph by de Nolhac. See his facsimile specimen, no. 8 in the plate.

[5] See facs. in *Scriptura Beneventana*, pl. 41.

[6] The catalogue is entered on the fly-leaf of the Beneventan MS. Rome Vallicell. A 15, and has been published by A. Goldmann in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, iv (1887) 141. The MS. described as Lombardic must have been unique in this large collection, since no mention is made of the script of any other MS. in it. This of itself would suggest that the church of St.

And in the inventory of the treasures of Monte Cassino made in the year 1497, books in the South Italian minuscule are described: *in littera longobarda.*[1] One could without difficulty cite other examples.

We see, then, that the name Lombardic had had a long life before Mabillon used it in his *De re diplomatica.* Yet Mabillon, as he himself says, had little to guide him when he adopted the name. Its use by a writer here and there, the opinion of an Italian friend or two, constituted his authorities.[2] Under such circumstances the term Lombardic formally entered into palaeographic literature. That it has survived to our own day is doubtless due to the weight of Mabillon's great name.

It was left to Ludwig Traube to point out, in his lucid and masterly way, the series of misapprehensions, palaeographical and historical, which gave rise to the misnomer.[3] Had not Mabillon committed the error of putting together two distinct kinds of writing, the early Corbie and the developed Beneventan, under the one name of *Scriptura Langobardica*;[4] had

Andrew was situated somewhere north of the Beneventan zone (see below, p. 48). The mention of S. Maria Rotunda in the catalogue, which must refer to the Pantheon, makes it quite certain that we are dealing with a church of St. Andrew in Rome, see Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 237, n. 2.

[1] Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino* (Monte Cassino 1869) i. 389, 399 sq.: Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*[4], p. 20.

[2] J. Mabillon, *De re diplomatica* (Paris 1681) p. 49: 'Jam vero in distinguendis Langobardicis elementis diu multumque me haesisse fateor, quoniam auctores, qui de his certa tradiderint, non inveniebam.' Then he names a few writers, philologists or historians, who had made use of the name: Salmasius, Scioppius, Ughelli, Cardinal Casanate. From the last he got his facsimile of Vatic. lat. 4939, from the Florentine Magliabecchi the facsimile of the Laurentian Tacitus, now MS. 68. 2; cf. op. cit., p. 353, pl. v, nos. 3 and 5.

[3] L. Traube, 'Perrona Scottorum,' in *Sitzungsb. d. K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Munich 1900) pp. 472 sqq.; *Neues Archiv d. Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, xxvi (1900) 229 sq.; *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, i (1909) 25 sq. and ii (1911) 9 sq. Since Traube the question of the name has been discussed by W. Weinberger in his 'Bericht über Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde (1903–6)' published in *Bursians Jahresbericht*, cxxxv (1907) 24, and by B. Bretholz, 'Lat. Palaeog.' in Meister's *Grundriss d. Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipsic 1906) i. 88 sq. and 2nd ed. (1912) p. 69 sq.

[4] Mabillon, l. c., p. 353, pl. v.

he not furthermore lent the weight of his authority to the current belief—*la vecchia volgar credenza*,[1] as Maffei styled it—that the Lombards had brought a script of their own to Italy, which supplanted the Roman, palaeography would have been spared some fruitful sources of confusion.[2] By repeating the historical misconception, Mabillon gave it a long lease of life. For despite the vehement protests of Maffei, that all the so-called national scripts were essentially one, with but accidental modifications, scholars were slow to give up the teaching of Mabillon. The doctrine appealed to the historic sense; it was so plausible that no proof was asked for. Scripts which were difficult to decipher because they were full of ligatures and cursive letters were, by contrast with the legible, uncombined letters of ordinary minuscule, on the face of it an un-Roman product, in other words the invention of barbarians. And the name Lombardic, by which such scripts were commonly known, constituted the historic sanction for the theory.

Maffei saw plainly the underlying error of this view and combated it vigorously.[3] But stimulating as his writings are, his

[1] See below, n. 3.

[2] Mabillon, l. c., p. 45, thus begins his chapter on the various kinds of writing: 'Alius quippe scribendi modus obtinuit apud Romanos, alius apud alias nationes. Pro hac nationum diversitate totidem fere scribendi modos enumerari licet, immo uniuscuiusque nationis varios pro temporum varietate. Quatuor scripturarum genera enumerari solent: Romana vetus, Gothica, Anglosaxonica, et Langobardica.' On p. 46 he gives us his view of the origin of our script: 'Tum saeculo VI Langobardis in Italiam effusis, successit Langobardica scriptura ad communem usum.'

[3] S. Maffei, *Istoria Diplomatica* (Mantua 1727) p. 113. Referring to Mabillon's doctrine he says: 'ma nell' aver confermata la vecchia volgar credenza, anzi ampliatone l'inganno, col fissar cinque generi d' antichi caratteri Latini, cioè Romano, Gotico, Longobardo, Sassonico, e Francogallico, io non posso conformarmi alla sua dottrina, mentre son per dimostrar nel proseguimento, come non ci fu carattere Gotico, non Longobardo, non Sassonico, non Francogallico, e son per dimostrarlo sì chiaramente, che i principi geometrici non saran più evidenti.' The arguments are given in *Verona Illustrata* (Verona 1732) i, cols. 321 sqq., but the use of the term Lombardic was older by several centuries than

arguments fell on deaf ears. They were too advanced for the time.[1] The more passionately he denied the existence of independent national scripts, the less likely were his contentions to be understood. However, his ideas were bound to gain ground sooner or later. All that was necessary was increased familiarity with MSS. and documents.

The great Benedictines Tassin and Toustain, the authors of the *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, which appeared soon after Maffei's works, made in the course of their important publication more and more concessions to Maffei's point of view. In the third volume of their work, published in 1757, they rejected the historical fallacy in the clearest terms: *L'écriture apelée lombarde n'est donc point de l'invention de ces barbares.*[2] But this was only half the battle. Unfortunately the learned Benedictines did not free themselves of Mabillon's other error. They too put the Corbie and the Beneventan types together in one group, and added thereto a great number of other scripts, classified under unintelligible divisions and subdivisions, which only added to the confusion.[3] Thus they encouraged the loose application of the term Lombardic, and its indiscriminate use has survived to our own day. How lamentable this practice is, and what mischief follows in its wake may be gathered from the fact—which would seem incredible—that the name Lombardic has been used to describe MSS. written

Maffei thought. See also Traube, *Vorles. und Abhand.* i. 45. Maffei's views are warmly championed by W. Y. Ottley, *Archaeologia*, xxvi (1836) 91 sqq.

[1] This can be seen from the words of Besselius whose work appeared five years after Maffei's *Istoria Diplomatica*. He says: 'Gothis Italiae regno exutis successere Longobardi, qui pariter ad normam victorum praeter linguam et mores, barbaram simul scripturam provinciis intulere.' *Chronicon Gottwicense* (Tegernsee 1732) i. 16.

[2] Tassin and Toustain, *Nouveau traité de diplomatique*, iii (1757) 272. 'De tous les autres noms, celui de lombardique a été le plus souvent donné aux écritures minuscules et cursives, difficiles à lire, et crues barbares par la plûpart des littérateurs. Plusieurs d'entre eux étant tombés sur des caractères obscurs et compliqués, leur donnèrent le nom des Lombards,' &c. (p. 271). See also iii. 13.

[3] See op. cit., plates XLIX and L.

in hands as distinct as the Visigothic, Insular, Luxeuil type, Corbie ꝺƀ type, North Italian pre-Caroline, South Italian minuscule, the Saint Gall–Reichenau type, the Chur type, Gothic and even ordinary Caroline minuscule—and this in standard publications.[1] Were there no other reason, this

[1] To cite but a few examples: (*a*) Visigothic. The Danila Bible of Cava is described as Lombardic in Silvestre, *Paléog. univ.* iii, pl. 141, in *Cod. Diplom. Cavens.* i, appendix, p. 1; in Wattenbach, *Anleit. z. lat. Pal.*[3], p. 15 (the error is rectified in the 4th edition (1886) p. 23, after the appearance of C. Paoli's article in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* iii (1879) 256); in Fumagalli, *Paleografia greca e latina di E. M. Thompson* (Milan 1899) p. 85. Here the error is a gratuitous addition of the translator. The Visigothic MS. of Ausonius, Leyden Voss. 111 (cxi), is called Lombardic by Schenkl, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auctt. Antiqq.*, vol. v, pars ii, p. xxxii. (*b*) Insular. The Laurentian MSS. 45. 15 and 78. 19, both in Insular writing, are called Lombardic in Bandini, *Catal. codd. lat.* ii. 350 sq. and iii. 166. (*c*) Luxeuil type. Ivrea Capitol. I is called Lombardic in *Monum. Pal. Sacra* (Turin 1899) pl. VIIIa, p. 8. Of the secondary script of St. Paul in Carinthia XXV $\frac{d}{67}$ Chatelain says: 'appelée quelquefois lombarde,' *Paléog. des class. lat.* ii. 13, pl. 136. The MS. Fulda Bonifat. 2 went under the same name; cf. Scherer, *Die Codices Bonifatiani d. Landesbibliothek zu Fulda* (Fulda 1905) p. 22. (*d*) Corbie type. MSS. of the ꝺƀ type have since Mabillon been almost universally classified as Lombardic. And the name gave rise to the erroneous notion of their Italian origin. Cf. *Nouv. Traité*, iii. 273 sq. and Delisle, *Le cab. des manusc.* ii. 122. The editors of the *Monum. Pal. Sacra* evidently shared this view. 'Longobardo settentrionale'—Lombardic of the North—is their description of Turin D v 3, which is in Corbie script, and of Novara Capitol. 84 which is in North Italian script; cf. plates VIIIb and IX, pp. 8 and 9. (*e*) For North and South Italian MSS. no examples are necessary. But one instance may be cited in illustration of the hopeless confusion which is brought about by an ambiguous term. The MS. Cava 5 is unmistakably Beneventan. But the liturgy in the MS. shows relations with France, and inasmuch as 'Lombardic' was written in France as well as in Italy the MS. must have originated in France. This is the argument in Silvestre, *Paléog. univ.* iii, pl. 146. (*f*) Reichenau and Chur type. See G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss d. Hss. d. Stiftsbibl. von St. Gallen* (Halle 1875) pp. 65, 240. The following MSS. in St. Gall are catalogued by Scherrer as Lombardic (p. 639): nos. 108, 109, 125, 126, 185, 227, 235, 242, 348, 350, 567, 731, and 1398.1. (*g*) Gothic. The oldest MS. of Erchempert, Vatic. lat. 5001, written in so-called Gothic letters, is described as Lombardic in *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* iii. 241, which fact may explain why it is later erroneously called Beneventan in *M. G. H. SS. Rer. Lang. et Ital.*, p. 232. (*h*) Caroline minuscule. Till Vollmer pointed out the error (*Sitzungsb. d. K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Abh. 11 (1908) p. 9) the MS. Vatic. lat. 3252 of the Appendix Vergiliana was commonly considered Lom-

would suffice to condemn the use of the term Lombardic. When we further remember that it was an historical misconception which gave rise to the name, its rejection is no less than imperative.

In the middle of the 18th century we hear the South Italian script called *Gotico cordellato.*[1] Trombelli's term had, however, as it merited, a short life; it plainly arose from the mistaken idea which he got from Bianchini, that the Beneventan MSS. were of Spanish origin[2]—a view which only a few years later was brushed aside as nonsense by the South Italian scholar De Vita.[3] But a generation later Bianchini's error was revived. Arevalo, the learned Spanish editor of Isidore, was deceived into following Trombelli in this as in some other fundamentally false notions regarding our script.[4] Elsewhere

bardic, cf. Bährens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* ii. 11; P. de Nolhac, *La bibl. de Fulvio Orsini,* p. 239; a similar error on p. 274 with reference to Vatic. lat. 3339, a MS. of Orosius. The MS. Vienna 580 in ordinary minuscule is styled Lombardic, 'calamo langobardico,' in *M. G. H. SS.* iii. 197. See also Delisle, *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes,* LXXI (1910) 293.

[1] Trombelli, *L'arte di conoscere l'età de' codici* (Bologna 1756) p. 87, describes our script thus: 'carattere *cordellato,* o più espressamente *gotico cordellato.*'

[2] Trombelli, l. c., p. 86, referring to the Beneventan MSS. which are now in the Vallicelliana, says: 'i quali codici (per quanto mi attestò il chiarissimo P. Bianchini) furono anticamente trasportati dalla Spagna, e donati a que' padri da un insigne loro benefattore: dal che conghietturava esso P. Bianchini, che fossero scritti in quell' antico carattere, ch' usarono i Goti, allorchè colà dimoravano Ne' nostri paesi son rarissimi tali scritti.' How little our script was known may be seen from the following: 'Vi si incontrano delle lettere, che se o dal paragone con altre scritture di simil genere, o dal contesto non si diano a conoscere, sono a dì nostri affatto inintelligibili: e tali sono *a, e, ri, t*' (here Trombelli reproduces the Beneventan forms, badly enough, and mistakes the ligature *ri* for *r*). The last citation shows that he utterly lacked the proper sense of the development of writing, though he lived after Maffei.

[3] De Vita, *Antiquitates Beneventanae* (Rome 1764) ii. 446: 'nam de codicibus Hispanicis veteri Gothorum cura, ac charactere exaratis, nugari certe voluit Blanchinius, qui, si ex nostris regionibus, ac charactere Longobardico conscriptos dixisset, neque a vera aberasset, neque pretii minus illis fuisset.'

[4] Arevalo, *Isidoriana,* pars iv, cap. XCVI=Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 81, col. 798: 'charactere Gothico quem cordellato dicunt'—this of the Beneventan MS. Vatic. lat. 3320; op. cit., pars iv, cap. CI=Migne 81, cols. 849–50: 'chara-

Arevalo speaks of the script simply as Gothic.[1] It is likewise so called by Janelli in his Naples catalogue, though he adds that experts use the term Lombardic.[2] To him, as to many others, Gothic merely meant strange, abnormal. To Arevalo, Trombelli, and Bianchini it meant Spanish.

The revival of the forgotten name of *littera Beneventana* seems to have been due to a mere coincidence. In discussing the script of the little volume of verse on the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul, composed by the Monte Cassino monk Amatus—a MS. copied in 1070 in the best Beneventan style[3] —Cardinal Garampi,[4] then keeper of the Vatican archives, was struck with the similarity between the writing of the MS. and that of a no less celebrated Beneventan MS., the Register of John VIII, preserved in the Vatican archives.[5] As both MSS. were written by Cassinese monks, at about the same time, the resemblance is natural. But the Amatus MS., as Garampi knew, went by the name of Lombardic—he calls it so himself—while the Register is described in the inventory

ctere Gothico Hispano quem cordellatum dicunt'—said of the Beneventan MS. Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823. Arevalo repeats the entire myth of the Spanish origin of the Beneventan MSS. He apparently finds support for Bianchini's view in the similarity he notes between the writing of the MS. Vatic. Regin. lat. 1267 (which is Beneventan) and Visigothic MSS. in Toledo. See his *Prolegomena in carmina Dracontii*=Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 66, col. 640. Here again he refers to the name 'Gothico cordellato'.

[1] Arevalo, op. cit., pars ii, cap. LXIV=Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 81, col. 413.

[2] Janelli, *Catal. bibl. lat. vet. et class. manuscr. quae in regno Neapol. Museo Borbonico adservatur* (Naples 1827) p. 175. Of the Beneventan MS. of Ovid, Naples IV F 3, he says: 'scripti sunt charactere, quem peritiores Langobardicum, ceteri Gothicum nuncupant, eo nempe, qui inter plures Romanas literas aliquot habet abnormes et diversas.' To this use of the term 'Gothic' Maffei calls attention in *Verona Illustrata*, i, cols. 321–2. See also Lehmann's note in Traube's *Vorles. und Abhand.* i. 25.

[3] Now in Bologna, Biblioteca Univ. MS. 2843 (S. Salvatore 486). See below, p. 70.

[4] Garampi, *Illustrazione d'un antico sigillo della Garfagnana* (Rome 1759) p. 46, n. 3.

[5] See below, p. 73. Facs. in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 69.

of 1295, made by order of Pope Boniface VIII, as: 'quidam liber antiquus de lictera Beneuentana.'[1] It was evident to Garampi that the two names had reference to the same kind of writing.[2] This discovery was welcomed and cited by Borgia[3] and De Vita,[4] more, it would seem, from local pride than from a real appreciation of the facts involved. It was an honour to their part of the country to have a script named after it. But neither Borgia nor De Vita—nor even Garampi himself—realized the true significance of the discovery. They were all still labouring under the false impression that the Lombards had brought a script with them to Italy which the Beneventans took over and continued to use after the political extinction of the Lombards. Mabillon's doctrine was still leading them astray. The lesson to be learned from the *Nouveau Traité*, made public about that time, had evidently not yet reached that part of Italy. Towards the end of the 18th century reference is again made to Garampi's conjecture. In describing a Beneventan MS. Federici calls it Lombardic,

[1] See Marini, *I papiri diplomatici* (Rome 1805) p. 226, col. 2; Fr. Ehrle, 'Zur Gesch. d. Schatzes d. Bibl. und d. Archivs d. Päpste im XIV. Jahrhundert,' in *Archiv für Litteratur u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, i (1885) 38; De Rossi, *Codici Palatini Latini*, p. civ sq.; Fr. Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum* (Rome 1890) i. 122.

[2] Garampi, l. c., p. 46, n. 3: 'e quindi mi sono fatto sospettare che un consimile carattere avesse anche anticamente il nome di Beneventano o sia Langobardico; essendo che nell' Inventario de' libri di Bonifazio VIII, compilato nell' anno 1295, notasi fra gli altri: "quidam liber antiquus de lictera Beneventana."'

[3] Borgia, *Memorie Istoriche di Benevento* (Rome 1763–4) ii. 280, note: 'Seguendo la congettura messa fuori dal Canonico Garampi . . . chiamiamo lettera beneventana il carattere che vulgarmente si dice Longobardico, conciosiachè anche dopo cessato il dominio de' Longobardi in queste parti per lungo tempo si continuò a scrivere in quella forma, la quale perciò non si disse più Longobardica ma Beneventana.' &c.; cf. also i (1763) p. xxiii, n. 1.

[4] De Vita, op. cit. ii. 445 sq.: 'Viri eiusdem doctissimi coniectura est, *Licteram Beneventanam* eam fuisse, quae vulgo character Longobardicus appellatur, ideo dictam, quod, Longobardis extinctis, adhuc in Beneventanorum usu esset.' De Vita here takes the opportunity to attack Maffei's doctrine which does not recognize distinct national scripts.

but mentions the fact that, according to Garampi, Beneventan may be another name for it.[1]

It is to Gaetano Marini, the celebrated author of *I Papiri Diplomatici*, that the credit belongs of having been the first to realize that the name *littera Beneventana* was not only ancient, but had its full justification in the fact that it referred to the characteristic script used in the entire duchy of Benevento during a number of centuries.[2]

After Marini, Dudík refers to the question of the name.[3] He prefers to call the script Cassinese, for the reason that most MSS. in it known to him came from Monte Cassino—a point of view which naturally found favour in the abbey and has had its advocate there.[4] The name has grave defects. To apply the term Cassinese to the South Italian minuscule would be to encourage the tendency to regard every MS. in that type of writing as originating in the abbey itself—an impression already current among a number of scholars, if we may judge from the way in which they deduce Cassinese origin on no other ground than the writing itself.[5]

[1] Federici, *Degli antichi duchi e consoli e ipati della città di Gaeta* (Naples 1791) p. 81.

[2] Marini, op. cit., p. 226, col. 2; also pp. 50 and 255: cf. Lupi, *Manuale di paleografia delle carte* (Florence 1875) p. 90.

[3] Dudík, *Iter Romanum* (Vienna 1855) i. 61 sq. It is a curious fact that Dudík described as Cassinese the Lateran MSS. 78, 79, and 80. They are in reality products of Rome or vicinity and have no resemblance whatever to the South Italian hand.

[4] Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, i. 94. The name is used by Hartel-Loewe, *Bibl. patr. lat. Hispaniensis*, pp. 93, 192; by Ewald in *Neues Archiv*, vi (1881) 283, 288, 289. Also in Arndt-Tangl, *Schrifttafeln*[4], Heft i, pl. 7, Heft ii, pl. 38, with the word Beneventan in parenthesis.

[5] Speaking of the MS. Vatic. lat. 1197, written in Sulmona (see below, p. 76), Knöll says: 'Casini xi vel xii saeculo litteris langobardicis scriptus.' Cf. *Corp. Scr. Eccl. Lat.* ix, pars 2 (1886) p. vii; Hartel-Loewe, *Bibl. patr. lat. Hisp.*, p. 93. According to Caspar (*Petrus Diaconus u. die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin 1909) pp. 87, 133 n. 4) the script of Rome Vallicell. T. XXII and T. VIII shows that the MSS. came from Monte Cassino. As far as my experience goes, they could very well have been written in Capua, Benevento, or some other South Italian school.

Though it is true that Monte Cassino was by far the most important centre of Southern Italy, to call the script Cassinese would, by suggesting a local limitation, narrow the range too much ;[1] it would, moreover, disregard the existence of a type as distinct from the Cassinese as that employed in the districts of Bari, Trani, and Dalmatia. Primarily the objection is one of geographical connotation. Beneventan is the wider term of the two.[2]

Knowledge of the name Beneventan evidently spread after Marini's work. Early in the 19th century the name is used in the monumental work of Seroux d'Agincourt.[3] Nearer our own time it has been employed by some of the collaborators in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, among whom may be mentioned Bethmann, Boretius, Waitz, and Arndt.[4]

[1] Even the term Beneventan has been too narrowly interpreted to refer to products of that city. Cf. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci*, &c., p. 123, n. 34.

[2] The wider connotation of the name Beneventan is seen from mediaeval martyrologies and calendars, in which Monte Cassino is sometimes described as lying in Benevento. In the 11th-cent. Beneventan MS. from Veroli (Vallicell. B 32) I find on fol. 3^{v}: 'beneuento casino castro dep. sc̄i benedicti abb̄tis.' For other examples see *Revue Bénédictine*, xx (1903) 309: 'in Benevento Monte Cassino depositio sancti Benedicti abbatis' (*c.* 830); 'apud castrum Cassinum Beneventanae civitatis sancti Benedicti abbatis' (Notker, *c.* 870). Elsewhere we find: 'Capua Castro Casino transitus sancti Benedicti abb.' ibid., p. 367. The fame of the Beneventan region may be seen from a passage in a grammatical compilation made in France (it is found in the MS. Berne 83 saec. x, fol. 5) which runs as follows: 'quia nos adverbio huiuscemodi non solemus uti, cum tamen et Afri et Romani et omnes Itali atque Beneventani tritum id habeant.' Cf. Hagen, *Anecdota Helvetica*, p. 176, l. 30.

[3] Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art par les monuments* (Paris 1823) iii. 76, 79, no. 9. Speaking of the Beneventan MS. Vatic. lat. 5949 he says 'on y remarque les cinq lettres *a*, *c*, *e*, *r*, *t*, connues des paléographes sous le nom de lettres Bénéventines.' On the spelling *Beneventine* see below, p. 36, n. 4.

[4] Cf. Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 224, 235, 379, 380, 394, &c. But he is inconsistent in his usage—cf. pp. 223, 245, 247, 259, 264, 345, 357, 379, 518, &c.; Boretius in *M. G. H. Legg.* iv, p. lxi, §19; Waitz in *M. G. H. SS.* iii. 413 and *SS. Rer. Lang. et Ital.*, pp. 398, 555; Arndt in *M. G. H. SS. Rer. Merov.* i. 33.

The great G. B. de Rossi also favoured the name Beneventan.[1]

But the best-known text-books on Latin palaeography of the end of the last century, viz. those of Wattenbach, Paoli, Thompson, Prou, and Reusens adhered to the name Lombardic.[2] It is surprising, however, and much to be regretted that the name Beneventan has not been adopted in the latest editions of Prou and Thompson, considering that Traube has given his full support to it in a number of his last publications.[3]

But the inadequacy of the term Lombardic and the growing dissatisfaction with it are manifested by the appearance of such combinations as Langobardo-Cassinese, probably an invention of the monks of Monte Cassino,[4] Lombardic-Beneventan,[5] a sort of compromise intended to satisfy both parties, and worst of all the three-membered name Langobardo-Cassinese-Beneventan, the clumsiness of which condemns it.[6] There is little use in multiplying names.[7] The confusing and

[1] See description of Vatic. lat. 7606 in vol. x of the written Vatican Inventory (1876–8).

[2] *Anleitung z. lat. Pal.*[4], p. 18; *Programma scolastico di pal.* (Florence 1888) i. 14 sqq.; *An Introduction to Gr. and Lat. Pal.* (Oxford 1912) p. 348; *Manuel de pal.*[3] (Paris 1910) p. 85; *Éléments de paléog.* (Louvain 1899) p. 60.

[3] See below, p. 35, note 2.

[4] Piscicelli Taeggi, *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino* (Monte Cassino 1877). The nomenclature is defended by I. Carini, *Sommario di paleografia e diplomatica* (Rome 1888) p. 56 sq. Carini evidently feels the need of retaining the first part of the name, since he regards the script as a fusion of Roman and Germanic elements. The same name is used by N. Rodolico in his article entitled: 'Genesi e svolgimento della scrittura Longobardo-Cassinese' published in the *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* xxvii (1901) 315–33. Curiously enough Capasso believed that Langobardo-Cassinese represented a script which differed from the one called Beneventan. See his lecture, *Gli archivi e gli studii paleografici e diplomatici*, &c., p. 9.

[5] Steffens, *Lateinische Palaeographie*[2], p. x and plates 68 and 75.

[6] M. Ihm, *Palaeographia Latina* (Leipsic 1910) pl. ix, p. ix.

[7] Another name is Cassinese-Beneventan, used by Cipolla in *Codici Bobbiesi*, p. 176; by Bretholz, *Lat. Palaeog.*, p. 89 (2nd ed., p. 70.), and others. 'Broken Lombard' is another name which is often used, but it is manifestly inadequate since it is applicable only to products of the developed script and even then not to all its types, for it disregards the Bari type (see below, p. 150).

misleading term Lombardic must be given up once for all and carefully avoided. As the script is distinct, the name which is to identify it should be sharply distinguished from others. If no suitable ancient name had come down to us, that of 'South Italian' would be the most reasonable.[1] But this is not the case. It is gratifying, therefore, to observe that the practice of calling the script Beneventan has been steadily gaining ground. In his later works Traube consistently employed the term Beneventan.[2] In his splendid publication of facsimiles Anton Chroust employs this nomenclature.[3] Fr. Ehrle and Liebaert use it in their Vatican collection designed for schools.[4] So does the Bollandist Albert Poncelet in his catalogues of hagiographic MSS.;[5] so do well-known liturgiologists like Bannister, Ebner, Ehrensberger, Morin, Quentin, and Wilmart;[6] historians like Fedele,

[1] The name is urged by H. Bresslau, cf. Schumm-Bresslau, 'Die schriftlichen Quellen d. roman. Philologie,' p. 215 in Gröber's *Grundriss d. roman. Philologie*, 2nd ed. (Strassburg 1904). In his *Handbuch d. Urkundenlehre*, i. 908, 1st ed., Bresslau speaks of the 'South-Italian-Beneventan' writing.

[2] Traube, *Perrona Scottorum*, p. 485; *Palaeographische Forschungen* (Munich 1904) iv. 8 sqq.; *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 172, 216, 228, 259 *et passim*; *Vorles. u. Abhand.* i. 25, ii. 24, 28, n. 1. In his earlier works Traube used the name Lombardic; cf. 'O Roma nobilis' in *Abh. d. K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* xix (1891) 309 and *M. G. H. Poetae Lat. Aevi Carolini*, iii. 393.

[3] A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica, Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*, Ser. i, Lief. x, pl. 2, Lief. xxiii, plates 1b, 2b, 3.

[4] Ehrle-Liebaert, *Specimina codicum latinorum Vaticanorum* (Bonn 1912) plates 11–17.

[5] A. Poncelet, *Analecta Bollandiana*, Appendices to vol. xxv (1906) 105, 106, 110, 111; to vol. xxvi (1907) 227, 251, 255, 278, 300, 305, to mention only a few cases from his earlier catalogues.

[6] H. M. Bannister, *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan 1910) p. 130, and in his just published *Paleografia Musicale Vaticana, passim*; A. Ebner, *Quellen u. Forschungen zur Gesch. u. Kunstgesch. des Missale Romanum im Mittelalter* (Freiburg 1896) pp. 6, 98, 100, 101, 104, 149, 152, 202, 228, 236, &c.; H. Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgici bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* (Freiburg 1897) pp. 96, 110, 165, 172, 206, 310, 420, 424, 430, 432, 447, 448, 450; G. Morin in *Rev. Bénéd.* xxviii (1911) 237 on the spelling 'Beneventine' see p. 36, n. 4); H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge* (Paris 1908)

Poupardin, Rački, and Schiaparelli,[1] and Latinists like Clark, Lindsay, and Vollmer.[2] And in one of his last public utterances Léopold Delisle showed his approval of this denomination.[3] The first English work known to me in which the name occurs is a British Museum catalogue of the year 1882.[4]

Reasons which condemn the use of the term Lombardic and the other names cited are at the same time arguments in favour of the title Beneventan. It remains to give positive evidence in proof of the statement that Beneventan is itself an ancient and traditional name for the script. Accordingly I cite below a list of seven attestations of its ancient use, taken from descriptive entries in books and documents.

The two oldest instances occur, oddly enough, not in products of South Italian centres, but in documents from the papal chancery. The fact has a double significance. For, in the first place, it reveals the existence of a current belief among Roman notaries that the peculiar script of the Curia Romana was of Beneventan origin—a belief which doubtless arose from the similarity of certain letters and the common

p. 691; A. Wilmart in *Rev. Bénéd.* xxv (1908) 465, xxvi (1909) 282; and *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes*, i (1911) 250.

[1] P. Fedele in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.* xxx (1910) 319; Rački in *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije*, cxv (1893) 49; L. Schiaparelli in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* ser. v, vol. xlv (1910) 475; R. Poupardin in *Le moyen âge*, ser. ii, vol. xiv (1910) 21. B. Capasso uses the name Lombardic, but he knows that it used to be called 'littera Beneventana', *Mon. ad Neap. duc. hist. pert.* i. 148.

[2] A. C. Clark, *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (1911) p. 135 sq.; W. M. Lindsay in *Class. Rev.* xxv. 59, *Class. Quarterly*, iii. 136, *Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, xxvii. 549; F. Vollmer in *M. G. H. Auctt. Antiq.*, vol. xiv, p. xxviii.

[3] L. Delisle, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1909, pp. 775–8.

[4] Cf. *A Catalogue of the Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum*, 1882–87, p. 70. Here the name is spelled *Beneventine*, but the adjective *Beneventinus* properly refers to Beneventum in Africa, and *Beneventanus* to the city in South Italy. See Forcellini–De-Vit, *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon* and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*.

observance of certain script rules;[1] as well as from the circumstance that the book-hand of Rome and the province did not at all resemble the script of the Curia, whereas the book-hand of the Beneventan region did—as in fact it could not help doing, since both sprang from the same soil, the traditional Italian cursive. In the second place, the mere fact that *littera Beneventana* is employed as a palaeographical term in an early 11th-century document shows that the name is at least as old as the 11th century and probably older. This view is further confirmed by the usage of the third instance which I cite. I give the examples in chronological order.

(1) A.D. 1038 . . . exemplaui . . . ex ipso exemplo quod apparet *in lictera (ben)euentana.*

These words are used by a Roman notary copying in 1038 a papal bull of the year 962, which he describes as written in Beneventan letters.[2]

(2) A.D. 1046 . . . hoc est exemplum exemplatum per me infrascriptum notarium ex quodam instrumento scripto ex *littera ueneuientana* (i.e. Beneventana).

This description is made by a Roman notary. The document in which the name occurs is dated 1046.[3]

(3) ante A.D. 1280 . . . codicillus . . . antiquissimis seu uetustissimis licteris et *quasi beneuentanis* descriptus.[4]

This description was made by the English scholar Gilbert (died A.D. 1280) of a MS. of St. Cyril entitled *De Oraculo Angelico,* which he chanced to find in a monastery of Colmar. Here again *littera Beneventana* stands for a definite type of

[1] The resemblance between Beneventan and the curial hand was noted by Mabillon (*De re diplomatica,* p. 52). Arevalo apparently saw no difference between them (*Proleg. in carmina Dracontii* = Migne, *P. L.* 60, col. 640). Wattenbach, in his *Anleitung*[4], p. 20, suggests that the papal cursive went by the name of Beneventan, but our authorities in diplomatic do not seem to share his opinion. The correct view is that given in Thompson's *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography,* p. 294, and in his *Introd. to Gr. and Lat. Pal.,* p. 497.

[2] Cf. Marini, *I papiri diplomatici,* p. 50.

[3] ibid., p. 255.

[4] ibid., p. 226, col. 2.

writing. The word *quasi* suggests that the expression had already considerable age and currency in the 13th century.

From the cases thus far cited we can only conclude that the name Beneventan in a palaeographical sense was ancient. Of the following examples three have reference to MSS. still extant.

(4) A.D. 1295 . . . quidam liber antiquus *de lictera Beneuentana.*

The book referred to is the oldest papal Register in existence, that of John VIII, written in Beneventan characters of the 11th century, mention of which has been made above. The volume is still preserved in the Vatican archives. The above item occurs in the inventory of the papal treasury and archives made in the year 1295.[1]

(5) A.D. 1336 . . . Isti sunt libri dicte ecclesie siue hospitalis sancte marie magdalene. Inprimis, unum missale *de littera beneuentana.* Item una omelia *de simili littera.* Item una alia omelia *de simili littera.* Item unus liber dictus legendarium *de simili littera.* Item alius liber uocatus legendarium. Item duo antiphonaria nocturna *de simili littera.* Item unum antiphonarium diurnum. Item unum psalterium *de littera benèuentana.* Item quoddam breuiarium sine principio et fine *de littera langobarda.* Item una matricula notata *de littera gallica.* Item alia matricula cum tabulis et corio rubeo desuper. Item aliud missale antiquum notatum et sine fine. Item alia matricula *de littera beneuentana.* Item aliud missale *de littera langobarda* cum tabulis et sine fine. Item unus liber cum lamentationibus ieremie prophete. Item unus liber dictus orationale cum tabulis *de littera beneuentana.*

This catalogue is taken from a Veroli document, still unpublished, of November 3, 1336.[2] As our script was used in Veroli there can be little doubt what is meant by *littera beneuentana.* Further interest attaches to the catalogue from the fact that two books are styled Lombardic—*de littera langobarda.* Exactly what script is meant by this it is impossible to tell. In all probability the Beneventan, since we have seen

[1] See above, p. 31, n. 1.

[2] It was called to my attention through the kindness of Signor Bucci, who was working upon the documents of Veroli.

that it was also called Lombardic. The two MSS. thus designated may have passed through the hands of some person who was familiar with the name, and had written it, as was the custom, at the opening of the MS. It is not impossible, however, that Lombardic here refers to a more cursive hand, or even to an entirely foreign script, like the Insular or Visigothic. *Littera Gallica* can in this connexion be no other than the ordinary type of minuscule, which by contrast with the local or Beneventan hand was sometimes called *francisca* or *gallica*. I do not believe it is necessary to take the words more literally and explain the books as a Norman importation.[1]

(6) saec. xiv ex. . . . liber *lictere ben(e)ue(n)tane.*

This palaeographical entry, by a hand of the 14th century, stands in a vacant space of the second column on fol. 2^{v} of the 11th-century Beneventan MS. Vatic. lat. 1349, containing a collection of canons.

(7) saec. xv . . . Liber *de littera Veneuentana.*

This entry is found in the upper margin of the first leaf of the 11th-century MS. Vatic. Barb. lat. 421 (XI 64), containing a martyrology, the Rule of St. Benedict, &c. The entry is by a hand of the 15th century, possibly earlier.[2]

The name Beneventan, then, rests upon ancient tradition. Unlike the term Lombardic, it has stood for one distinct type of writing, namely, that employed in the ancient duchy of Benevento, once coextensive with almost all of South Italy. This local designation could only have arisen considerably after the 9th century, since a period of time had to elapse before a difference could be felt between the practice which obtained in the Beneventan zone and that which had come to prevail north of it.[3] Had the northern scriptoria retained their

[1] For a parallel case see Fedele in *Archiv. stor. per le prov. Napol.* xxxii (1907) 129, n. 6.

[2] Cf. Wilmart in *Rev. Bénéd.* xxvii (1910) 227.

[3] See below, p. 95. That this difference was already felt in the 10th century appears from the use of the term *francisca* cited above, p. 23.

traditional script, which is the same as saying, had they not yielded to the force of the Caroline reform, the name Beneventan would never have come into existence, for then most likely there would have been no distinction to mark. This is made manifest by the existence in the 9th century of North and Central Italian MSS. which are practically indistinguishable from the early South Italian products.[1] Had the Caroline reform stopped at the Alps, all of Italy must have written a more or less similar hand, resembling the early Beneventan.[2] Had it, on the other hand, swept over South Italy as well as North Italy, all Italian schools would have used the ruling Caroline minuscule. The fact that only the northern half of Italy took up the French style of book-hand gives the southern half the distinction of possessing a local script named after the region in which it flourished.

[1] See below, p. 114.

[2] This is the idea which underlies Bresslau's suggestion to call our script *Scriptura Italiana*. Cf. *Handb. d. Urkundenlehre*, i. 908 (1st ed.).

CHAPTER III

DURATION

THOUGH it came last to maturity, of all the so-called national scripts the Beneventan proved the most enduring.[1] It remained in use no less than five centuries.[2]

The oldest dated example of a minuscule MS. written in Southern Italy falls at the end of the 8th century (A.D. 779–97),[3] the latest dated example of an entire MS. is of the year 1295.[4] It is unlikely that the script was used to any extent before or after the limits furnished by the dated examples.

Judging from the writing and abbreviations, the MS. Monte Cassino 753 seems of the middle of the 8th century. It is, as far as we know, the oldest example.[5] Whether or not minuscule was written in Southern Italy much before that time must remain a matter of conjecture. But the fact that several Southern as well as Central Italian MSS. of the 8th century are in uncial makes it improbable that anything like a flourishing minuscule then existed in that part of Italy.[6]

[1] The Insular script produced examples of beautiful penmanship before the Beneventan can be said to have begun its course. When the Beneventan had reached its highest development the Visigothic was at the end of its career.

[2] It should be remembered that at first Beneventan is nothing else than the Italian script, and there is no essential difference between the North and South Italian products.

[3] e. g. Paris lat. 7530 or Cava 2, both from Monte Cassino. Facsimile specimens of the Paris MS. in Chatelain, *Paléog. des class. lat.* i, pl. 13; Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, pl. XXIII. 4; Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*[2], pl. 42a (Suppl. pl. 15b) and E. A. Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, pl. 2; Facs. of the Cava MS. in *Cod. Diplom. Cavensis*, ii, Appendix; and Loew, l. c., pl. 1. See also *Script. Benev.*, plates 9 and 10.

[4] The MS. Cava 24, written in Cava. Facs. in Silvestre, *Paléographie universelle*, iii, pl. 150. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 99.

[5] *Script. Benev.*, pl. 7.

[6] I refer to the MSS. Vatic. lat. 3835 and 3836 written in Rome by Agimund

By reason of their distance from the main Caroline stream, the schools of Southern Italy were permitted to develop on traditional lines a script which was to become characteristically their own. And this development may be summed up thus: originating in the 8th century, possessed of all its typical features by the beginning of the 10th, and reaching its zenith in the second half of the 11th, the Beneventan script, though still vigorous, begins in the 12th century to show signs of decline, and a century later the evidence of disintegration becomes unmistakable.

The process of decay was a slow one. It coincided, roughly speaking, with the 13th century. The traditional view that Beneventan was rarely employed after the 12th century goes back to Mabillon.[1] This was his opinion before his visit to Italy. In the monastery of Cava, however, as he tells us in his *Iter Italicum*,[2] he had seen a MS. containing *De septem sigillis*,[3] a work written by Benedict of Bari, who lived about 1227. He had also seen the MS. of the *Vitae Patrum Cavensium*,[4] which he placed at the end of the 13th century. But he used vague language in dating the MS.[5] Thus it happens that the authors of the *Nouveau Traité* take note only of the first of those two 13th-century MSS. and allow that the

(facs. in Silvestre, *Paléog. univ.*, pl. 114 and 116: also in A. Mai, *Nova Patr. bibl.* i (1852) pl. viii); London Add. MS. 5463 (facs. in *Pal. Soc.* i, pl. 236, *Catal. of Ancient MSS.* &c., part ii, pl. 7, and *Script. Benev.*, pl. 4); Vatic. lat. 5007, written in Naples (facs. in *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS. Rer. Langob. et Ital.*, pl. 5, Capasso, *Monum. ad Neap. ducat. hist. pertinentia*, i. (1881) tab. 1, *Script. Benev.*, pl. 5); Vatic. lat. 3321 from South Italy (facs. in Chatelain, *Uncial. Script.*, pl. XLV. 2).

[1] Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, p. 46. 'Sic ergo Langobardica obtinuit apud Italos ad saeculum XII, quo ex tempore in politiorem illum modum sensim deducta est, quo nunc est Romana recentior'; and again on p. 49: 'Perseveravit hoc scripturae genus apud Italos ad saeculum XII,' &c. Needless to say, we have before and even after Mabillon extravagant guesses concerning the duration of the script. It is scarcely worth while to repeat them here. See *Nouveau Traité*, iii. 276.

[2] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, I. i. 118. [3] MS. Cava 18. [4] MS. Cava 24.

[5] Mabillon speaks of the MS. as 400 years old—that was in 1685.

script was used occasionally at the beginning of the 13th century; thereafter, they say, the ordinary minuscule alone prevailed.[1]

But this view is not borne out by the facts.[2] Besides the dated examples reproduced in *Scriptura Beneventana*,[3] which range from the beginning to the end of the 13th century —and they represent not a single centre, but the scriptoria of Monte Cassino, Cava, Naples, Benevento, and Dalmatia[4]— there exists a considerable number of undated 13th-century MSS., too many to be regarded as mere exceptions or stray survivals of a script utterly out of use.[5] Moreover, dated obituary entries, as well as marginal additions of an historical character are so often written in Beneventan that it is fair to presume a considerable vogue for the script throughout the 13th century.[6]

[1] *Nouveau Traité*, iii. 439: 's'il paroit encore après le commencement du XIIIe siècle dans quelques mss.; il est constant que dès lors l'Italie l'abandonna tout-à-fait, et s'en tint à l'écriture gallicane courante, qui étoit celle de toute l'Europe.'

[2] It is criticized and corrected, probably for the first time, in the report of M. Petit de Baroncourt, published in the *Journal général de l'instruction publique* (Paris 1845) no. 104. This very interesting statement is quoted at length by Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, i. 322, note 1; who got it from Quantin, *Dictionnaire raisonné de diplomatique*, cols. 409 sqq.

[3] Plates 90–100.

[4] The Croatian scholar I. Kršnjavi, discussing the Spalato MS. of the *Historia Salonitana*, refers to its script, which is Beneventan, as to a phenomenon of unusual rarity (*Zur Historia Salonitana des Thomas Archidiaconus von Spalato*, Agram 1900, p. 3). But we have at least two other 13th-century MSS. from Dalmatia, viz. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 342, and the débris of a necrologium now preserved in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, both MSS. written in Ragusa.

[5] About fifty have come to my notice.

[6] Compare the entries in Vatic. lat. 5949; in Monte Cassino 179 see the entry to the year 1270; in the Obituarium of S. Spirito preserved in the chapter library of Benevento (Armadio mobile II), on fol. 39v, is an entry of 1279. In the fragments of the obituary calendar from Ragusa now in the Musée Condé the death of Archbishop Bonaventura (1281–93) is entered in Beneventan. In Cava 3, fol. 129, there is a note on an astrological phenomenon of the year 1315, which I quote on next page. The obituary and annalistic entries reflect very plainly the struggle between the Beneventan and the Caroline which must have

The latest dated MS. is Cava 24, containing *Vitae Patrum Cavensium*, written in the celebrated abbey of Cava in the year 1295.[1] The script is remarkably fresh, so much so that it is highly probable that Beneventan writing had continued in use in Cava even in the 14th century. As a matter of fact there exists a 14th-century entry in excellent Beneventan in the Cava MS. of Bede's *De Temporibus*.[2] On fol. 129 of this MS., in the right-hand margin, exactly opposite the year 1315 of the paschal table, a Beneventan hand wrote:

> hoc anno stella cometes
> apparuit a festo sancti thome apostoli
> usque in epiphania.[3]

In documents the script apparently lived after the year 1315. In a register of the year 1631 belonging to the Certosa of Capri, Bethmann saw two documents of the years 1328 and 1329 respectively, written 'charactere Longobardico', that is, in the Beneventan hand.[4] And Caravita mentions a subscription containing still well-formed Beneventan letters in a charter of Isernia of the year 1363.[5]

Although we must be careful how we make deductions for calligraphy from the usage in documents, the fact remains that

begun in the 12th century. But not every entry in ordinary minuscule is necessarily by a South Italian. It can easily be by a monk who had learned writing in the north. See below, p. 90.

[1] The most recent example cited in our palaeographical text-books is Monte Cassino 440, containing Abbot Bernard's (died 1282) commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict. This MS. is also cited by Caravita (op. cit. i. 322) as the last manifestation of the script. Abbot Bernard Ayglerius was a Frenchman. The commentary, as it left his pen, must have been in ordinary minuscule, yet the copy we have of it, which is most likely contemporary, is in Beneventan, a fact which argues that the local script still held its own in Monte Cassino. The initials in this MS. are no longer of the traditional type found in earlier Cassinese products. See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 97.

[2] Now Cava 3.

[3] i.e. from December 21 to January 6; cf. *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* iii. 197.

[4] *Neues Archiv d. Gesell. für ält. deut. Geschichtskunde*, xxiv. 210 note. The originals are supposed to be in Naples. My search for them at the Archivio Maggiore proved unsuccessful.

[5] Caravita, *I codici*, &c., i. 322.

the Beneventan script was so deeply rooted in South Italian culture that neither the Norman invasion nor the repeated imperial decrees forbidding its use could suffice to wipe it out of existence summarily.[1] Long after the Insular and Visigothic scripts had been supplanted by the Caroline minuscule, Beneventan was still strong enough to withstand that influence, especially in conservative monastic centres like Monte Cassino, Cava, and Benevento. But in time even it had to yield to the ordinary minuscule. The struggle may be pictured as follows. During the 12th century the ordinary minuscule began to enter the field as a rival.[2] Monte Cassino had lost markedly in prestige. New foundations, patronized by the Normans and partly composed of their own people, employed wholly or in part the script familiar to the Normans.[3] And the Norman policy of calling to the court scholars from various parts naturally favoured the spread of the script common to nearly all Europe. The episcopal schools were most likely the first to teach the more modern hand. And the professional copyist who made his appearance about that time[4] must also have pre-

[1] The decrees had reference to notarial products. Frederic II issued two such decrees, one in 1220 and one in 1231. Only the latter exists. It runs as follows: 'Consuetudinem quam olim in aliquibus regni partibus audiuimus obtinere, dilucida constitutione cassantes, decernimus instrumenta publica et quaslibet cautiones per litteraturam communem et legibilem per statutos a nobis notarios scribi debere, scribendi modo qui in ciuitate Neapolis, ducatu Amalfie ac Surrenti (atque per eorum pertinentias) hactenus seruabatur, omnino sublato,' &c., Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici II* (Paris 1854) vol. iv, pars i, p. 56. See also vol. ii, p. 91, n. 5. This is quoted by Paoli, *Programma scolastico di Paleografia e di Diplomatica* (Florence 1888) p. 17, and by Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*[2], p. ix.

[2] This appears clearly from the numerous obituary entries written in ordinary minuscule of the 12th century in the Necrologium of St. Matthew of Salerno, now in the Archivio Capitolare. Facs. in *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, vii, plates 27–35.

[3] G. Morin, *Regulae S. Benedicti traditio codd. MSS. Casinensium*, p. xix.

[4] Bretholz, 'Lat. Pal.' in Meister's *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Leipsic 1906) i. 48 sq. (2nd ed. p. 28). Some interesting facts about copyists are given by Huillard-Bréholles, op. cit., Introduction, p. DXXVI, and by Amari, *La guerra del Vespro*, iii.[2] 483.

ferred the ordinary minuscule. Thus the Beneventan supremacy in Southern Italy was undermined. Books were copied less and less in Beneventan as time went on; and the scribes began to lose the old skill in forming the letters. Somehow they could no longer join the strokes properly; the Beneventan MSS. of the 13th century seem to be written by an aged and shaky hand. The simpler and more practical script supplanted the traditional one. This happened soonest in the lay and clerical schools of the larger towns. The monasteries were the last stronghold of the 'littera Beneventana'.

CHAPTER IV

THE BENEVENTAN ZONE

THE far-reaching changes wrought by the Caroline reform did not affect the transalpine schools alone. Early in the 9th century the levelling process was at work in North and Central Italy.[1] It was just south of Rome and west of the Abruzzi that the reform wave broke and receded.

Broadly speaking, Southern Italy was the region in which our script was at home. But it is possible to define somewhat more precisely the northern limit of what we may call the Beneventan zone.

To the south this zone must have extended along the entire lower half of the Italian peninsula excluding the Greek settlements.[2] Of all the larger centres of Southern Italy we know that they used the Beneventan characters and it is improbable that the smaller centres used a script different from the one in vogue all around them.[3]

[1] Cf. Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, ii. 28; ample material in support of this view will be given in a future study of early Italian minuscule.

[2] It is interesting to note that some of the Greek MSS. which were written in Southern Italy (e. g. Monte Cassino gr. 277, 431, and 432, Vatic. gr. 2138, 1633, and 2020—to mention only a few) show striking resemblance to Beneventan MSS. in their initial ornamentation. Cf. Batiffol, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.* viii (1888) 307 sq.; also *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris 1891) pp. 89 sqq.; and K. Lake, *Journal Theol. Studies*, iv (1903) 523. Facs. in *Pal. Soc.* ii. 87; Vitelli-Paoli, *Collezione Fiorentina*, plates 33–5, 43; Franchi de' Cavalieri–Lietzmann, *Specimina codicum graecorum Vaticanorum*, pl. 17.

[3] Sicily and Sardinia can hardly be said to form part of our script-zone. The former early fell into the hands of the Saracens, and the Christian culture that survived was mainly Greek. The coming of the Normans did not favour the establishment of the Beneventan hand, owing to the cosmopolitan nature of the culture which flourished at the Norman court. But when William the Good, in 1174, had one hundred monks from Cava settle in the new monastery of Montereale with one of their number as abbot, we may suppose that our script

The demarcation to the north is not a matter of conjecture. We know from extant MSS. that Beneventan was not used in Rome, Velletri, Subiaco, Farfa, or Spoleto.[1] On the other hand we have MS. evidence of its use in Veroli, Sora, Sulmona, and in the districts of Chieti and Penne near the Adriatic.[2] These places constitute the northern boundary of the Beneventan script-zone, which practically corresponds to the ancient duchy of Benevento, comprising not merely the region south of Rome but also a good portion of the Abruzzi, where Monte Cassino had many possessions.[3] Eastward the province of the script extended beyond the Italian peninsula. We find Beneventan used on the Tremiti Islands in the Adriatic and all along the opposite shores of Dalmatia from Ossero to Ragusa.

From data furnished by the MSS. (see below, pp. 67 sqq.), we know that Beneventan was written in the following places:[4]

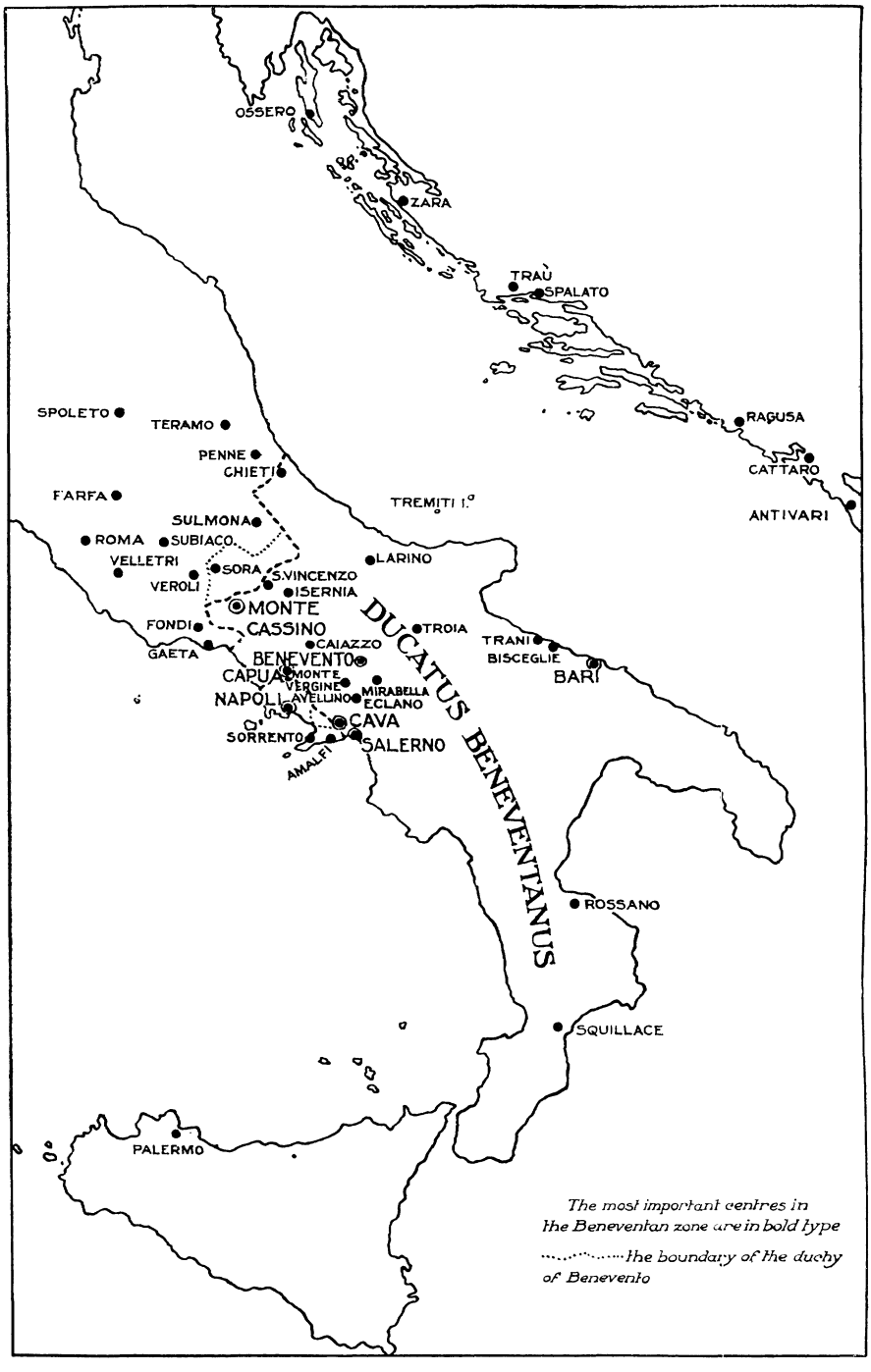
was used in that monastery (*Cod. Diplom. Cavens.* i, p. xv.). The same supposition may be made with regard to Sardinia on the strength of relations with Monte Cassino in the 11th century. Cf. Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte Cassino*, i. 407, ii. 161 and 194; Caravita, *I codici*, &c., i. 92.

[1] See the MSS. Rome Basilicanus F 11 (St. Peter), Vatic. lat. 378 (S. Maria in Palladio), Vallicell. F 85 (S. Ciriaco in Thermis); Velletri Capitol. no. 6 (Evangel.), Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 (the entries on foll. 1 and 6 made in Velletri); Vallicell. B 24 (Sacram. Sublacense); Subiaco, Archiv. di S. Scolastica (Register of Subiaco); Vatic. Barb. lat. 679 (XIV 52) and Vatic. lat. 6808, both from Farfa; Rome Basilicanus F 15 (Spoleto); Spoleto, Archiv. Capitol. (Vitae Sanctorum)—to single out a few of the many examples which might be cited.

[2] For the precise MSS. originating in the various centres, see the list of localized MSS. given below, pp. 67 sqq. In the district of Chieti there was the monastery of S. Liberatore alla Majella, in that of Penne, the abbey of S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto.

[3] Where Monte Cassino had its monasteries, there the Beneventan script was sure to be used. Some churches in the Abruzzi still belong to the diocese of Monte Cassino, e. g. Pescocostanzo in the province of Aquila, Villa Oliveti in the province of Teramo, Fara Filiorum Petri in the province of Chieti, cf. *Annuario ecclesiastico* (Rome 1912) pp. 874–5.

[4] The script was naturally used in many places not mentioned in my list, which includes only centres for which there is MS. evidence or else literary evidence establishing that fact. Places from which there is a very strong presumption that Beneventan MSS. originated are also included in my list, but printed in italics.


OSSERO
ZARA
TRAÙ
SPALATO
RAGUSA
CATTARO
ANTIVARI
SPOLETO
TERAMO
PENNE
CHIETI
FARFA
TREMITI I.
SULMONA
ROMA
SUBIACO
VELLETRI
SORA
S.VINCENZO
VEROLI
ISERNIA
LARINO
MONTE
CASSINO
FONDI
GAETA
CAIAZZO
TROIA
TRANI
BISCEGLIE
BARI
BENEVENTO
CAPUA
MONTE
VERGINE
AVELLINO
MIRABELLA
ECLANO
NAPOLI
CAVA
SORRENTO
SALERNO
AMALFI
DUCATUS BENEVENTANUS
ROSSANO
SQUILLACE
PALERMO
The most important centres in the Beneventan zone are in bold type
.....the boundary of the duchy of Benevento

To face p. 48

BARI
BENEVENTO
Bisceglie
Cajazzo
CAPUA
CAVA
Fondi
Gaeta
Mirabella Eclano
MONTE CASSINO
Monte Vergine
NAPLES
Ossero (Dalmatia)
Ragusa („)
SALERNO
S. Angelo in Formis [1a]
S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto [1b]
S. Benedetto di Cesamo [1c]
S. Benedetto di Clia [1d]
S. Liberatore alla Majella [1e]
S. Lorenzo in Carminiano [1f]
S. Maria di Albaneta [1g]
S. Michele [1h]
S. Nicola della Cicogna [1i]
S. Vincenzo al Volturno [1k]
Sora
Sorrento
Spalato (Dalmatia)
Sulmona
Teramo
Traù (Dalmatia)
Tremiti Islands
Troja
Veroli
Zara (Dalmatia)

Monte Cassino.[2] Within the region just defined the centre

[1a] near Capua; [1b] near Penne; [1c] near Presenzano, about 16 miles south of Cassino on the line to Naples; [1d] between Belmonte and S. Elia, a few miles from Cassino on the way to Atina; [1e] near Chieti; [1f] near Troja; [1g] about a mile north-west of Monte Cassino; [1h] a monastery of St. Michael existed in the Abruzzi, another not far from Cassino (Caravita, *I codici*, &c. i. 108, n. 2); [1i] about 2 miles to the north of Monte Cassino; it no longer exists; [1k] near a village of S. Vincenzo near Isernia.

[2] Besides the works cited here in connexion with the different centres, the student is referred to U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques*, &c., Topo-bibliographie, 2nd ed.; and to Poncelet's catalogues of hagiographical MSS. in the libraries of Rome and Naples, published in the *Analecta Bollandiana*.

On the history of Monte Cassino see the literature cited above, p. 21. On the MSS. see Mabillon, *Museum Ital.* I. i, pp. 122 sqq.; Montfaucon, *Diarium Ital.* (1702) pp. 322–33; *Bibl. bibliothecarum*, i. 215 sqq.; Mai, *Scriptorum vet. nova coll.* iii. 2, pp. 163 sqq.; Blume, *Iter Ital.* iv. 69 sqq.; Reifferscheid, *Bibl. patr. lat. Ital.* ii. 309–436; Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 495–514; G. Mercati, 'Due supposte spogliazioni della biblioteca di Monte Cassino,' in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Attilio Hortis* (Trieste 1910) pp. 967

of by far the greatest importance was Monte Cassino. Pre-eminently the leader of the South Italian schools, it surpassed all others not only in the quality and the amount of its calligraphic product, but also in the value of the texts which it has transmitted.[1] The existing MSS. of Cassinese origin, scattered throughout Europe or still housed where they were written—some of them a thousand years ago—bear eloquent testimony to the glorious part Monte Cassino has played as a centre of light and learning.

Whereas in the case of most South Italian schools we must content ourselves largely with surmises concerning their literary life, with Monte Cassino we have some precise facts to go upon. Here and there a subscription definitely connects a MS. with Monte Cassino.[2] Two MSS. are in existence which contain a contemporary catalogue of books copied during the abbacy of Theobald;[3] likewise in the excellent Chronicle of Monte Cassino this catalogue appears, together with an enumeration of the MSS. which were written under the great Abbot Desiderius as well as under some earlier abbots.[4] Better still, some of the MSS. for which we have historical evidence have come down to us.[5] Although not all of the 232 Beneventan

sqq., and especially the works published in Monte Cassino itself, namely, Caravita, *I codici*, &c.; Piscicelli Taeggi, *Pal. artist. di Montecassino*; Tosti, *Storia della badia*, &c. (Documenti e noti), and the valuable and extensive catalogue, *Bibliotheca Casinensis* (1873–94), five volumes of which have appeared. The last MS. catalogued is no. 311, which leaves 437 MSS. still to catalogue (a few libraries have the volume which goes to no. 358). It is to be hoped that this useful work will soon be resumed.

[1] See above, pp. 16 sqq.

[2] e. g. the MSS. Monte Cassino 5, 99, 109, 148. Facs. in *Script. Benev.*, plates 57, 58, 64, 67, 68.

[3] The MSS. Monte Cassino 28 and 57. See *Script. Benev.*, plates 60 and 61. For the text see below, p. 80.

[4] See below, pp. 78 sqq.

[5] Besides the MSS. which have been correctly identified with books in the Theobaldan catalogue, e. g. Monte Cassino 28, 57, 73 and others, mention may be made of the MS. of Cicero, now Leyden 118, Hilarius, *Liber Mysteriorum*, now in Arezzo, and the Vatican MS. (1202) of the *Vita S. Benedicti*, &c., which I

MSS.[1] preserved in Monte Cassino were written in the abbey, the great majority of them certainly were. And of the Beneventan MSS. dispersed in foreign parts, thirty at least can claim Monte Cassino as their original home.[2] Thus the abbey can boast of having produced almost half of the five hundred and more extant books in Beneventan writing.

Cava.[3] It is not so easy to say which school is next in importance after Monte Cassino. The abbey of Santissima Trinità above Cava, near Salerno, enjoys that reputation in our text-books. However, the palaeographical fame of this centre is to some extent accidental. In November, 1685, Mabillon visited the monastery and saw its MSS. With his account in the *Iter Italicum* the name of Cava entered into palaeographical literature.[4]

But there is no historical evidence for a lively copying activity at Cava.[5] No important MSS. lying outside of Cava can be traced to Cava as their home;[6] and if we examine the

believe are among the very books known to have been copied under Abbot Desiderius (1058–87). I cite only these cases. There are several other MSS. which may be successfully identified with books named in ancient Cassinese catalogues. But this subject deserves a separate study.

[1] This is the number given by Piscicelli Taeggi, op. cit., introd., p. i.

[2] See below, pp. 70 sqq.

[3] On the MSS. of Cava see Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.* I. i, pp. 116 sqq.; *Lettre de l'abbé Rozan sur des livres et des manuscrits précieux de la bibliothèque de la Cava* (Naples 1822), palaeographically weak; Blume, *Iter Ital.* iv. 66 sq. (exaggerates the importance of the library); Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 528 sq.; and especially *Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, 8 voll. (1873–93). The preface to vol. i has the history of the abbey, the appendices (I manoscritti membranacei) contain descriptions and reproductions of the oldest MSS., facsimiles of which are also given by Silvestre, *Paléog. universelle*, iii, plates 143, 144, 146, 148, 149, 150. A summary catalogue of the MSS. in P. Guillaume, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cava* (Cava 1877), appendix, pp. cxiii sqq.

[4] Mabillon, op. cit., pp. 116 sqq.

[5] How little we know of this activity may be seen from the meagre account of it in *Cod. Diplom. Cavens.* i, p. xvii.

[6] The MS. Vatic. lat. 3764 (*Vitae Summor. Pontificum*) once belonged to

MSS. now in Cava, we shall find that the number of them actually written there is exceedingly small. Founded in the beginning of the 11th century,[1] the abbey cannot lay claim to some of its oldest and most important treasures. The 8th-century Isidore was written in Monte Cassino;[2] the 9th-century Bible came from Spain; and the important 11th-century MS. of the *Leges Langobardorum* must have originated in Benevento.[3] Yet Cava owns the distinction of having cultivated our script as late as the 14th century;[4] and the historical student justly regards it as a perfect treasure-house for documents of Southern Italy.

Benevento.[5] In so far as the importance of a centre is made evident by the number of its extant MSS., Benevento should precede Cava. Besides a number of MSS. which were written there and are now in other libraries[6]—some of them of considerable age and importance—Benevento possesses to this day

Cava, as appears from the entry on fol. 7^{v}: 'Iste insignis liber per multos annos deperditus ... tandem ... sacro Cavensi Cenobio restitutus fuit ... anno salutis 1516 die 18 Novembris.' There is a similar entry on the last leaf (Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl.* i. 110; Blume, *Iter Ital.* iv. 66). But as the entire MS. is in the script of Rome and vicinity, and as the Beneventan writing on fol. 4 and 4^{v} is manifestly an addition, the MS. most likely got to Cava as a gift from Rome. The marginal notes are also in ordinary minuscule, excepting one on fol. 5^{v}.

[1] The earlier history of the foundation is nebulous. The year 1011 is the date accepted in *Cod. Diplom. Cavens.* i, p. ix. It is idle to imagine literary activity in Cava before this date.

[2] The MS. has a small catalogue of books which Traube (*Textgesch. d. Regula S. Benedicti*, 2nd ed., p. 107) brings into connexion with Paulus Diaconus. The entry is at earliest of the late 10th century. If it is of the early 11th, it may record the beginnings of the Cava library.

[3] Now the MSS. 2, 1, and 4: see E. A. Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, p. 2; *Stud. Pal.*, p. 62; and below, pp. 67, 70.

[4] See above, p. 44.

[5] On the library of Benevento see Borgia, *Memorie istoriche di Benevento*, i, pp. xiv sqq.; Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 527; Ebner, *Iter Ital.*, p. 6; D. R. Andoyer, *I codici liturgici della biblioteca capitolare di Benevento* (Benevento 1909) reprinted from *Settimana*, no. 46 (anno x).

[6] See below, pp. 67 sqq.

over forty of its own products,[1] almost three times the number preserved at Cava. And among them are some liturgical volumes which are older and completer than similar MSS. from elsewhere in South Italy. There is also historical evidence for literary activity in Benevento. In the 9th century it was reputed an important centre of learning.[2] It had, moreover, through the monastery of Santa Sophia, continuous relations with Monte Cassino. In a biographical note entered by a hand of the 12th century in the MS. Vatic. lat. 4955 we read of a monk Landulfus of Santa Sophia, who showed a humanist's zeal in his search for MSS., though his interest was ecclesiastical rather than classical.[3] Lastly, witness the catalogue of books which existed in the library of the nuns of St. Peter in Benevento.[4]

Capua.[5] Capua as a centre of writing first attracts our attention when the monks of Monte Cassino settled there.[6] In 883 they had fled from the Saracens to Teano, and when that refuge was burned down they sought asylum in the neighbouring town of Capua, where they remained from 896 to 949. The peace and security which they there enjoyed bore fruit. Many books were copied, and the first examples of fairly calligraphic products—MSS. which show both in penmanship and decoration a marked advance upon their predecessors—actually fall

[1] They are nearly all liturgical. See list of MSS. at the end of the book.

[2] Anonymus Salernitanus, cap. 32; Tiraboschi, *Storia letteraria Italiana*, iii (1806) 251; Ebert, *Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters*, ii (1880) 316 sq.

[3] For the text of this entry see below, p. 78. On S. Sophia see Borgia, op. cit. i. 233, 246 sqq.

[4] Published in *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, v (1888) 485 sq. The catalogue is found on fol. 76^{v} of London Add. MS. 5463; cf. Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 182 sq.

[5] Of the literary activity of Capua during the Middle Ages we get practically no information in the older works of O. Rinaldo, *Memorie istoriche della fedelissima città di Capua*, 2 voll. (Naples 1753–5), and F. Granata, *Storia sacra della chiesa metropolitana di Capua*, 2 voll. (Naples 1766). On its archives and libraries see Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 494.

[6] See above, p. 7.

in the Capuan period; as, for instance, the Commentary by Paulus Diaconus on the Rule of St. Benedict (Monte Cassino 175), the collection of Canons in the Vatican MS. 5845, and the copy of Gregory's *Moralia* (Monte Cassino 269). The monks returned to Monte Cassino under Abbot Aligern in 949. But the Cassinese tradition continued in Capua. The MS. Monte Cassino 230, written probably between 969 and 987 is proof of that, not to mention later products like the Exultet Roll and the Register of S. Angelo in Formis (near Capua), written between 1137 and 1166.[1]

Naples.[2] That there existed considerable culture in Naples during the Middle Ages is beyond question. The writers who flourished there bear witness to it.[3] But besides this testimony we have some explicit facts regarding the literary life of the city. In the 8th century Neapolitan clerics were sent to Monte Cassino to study under the great Paulus Diaconus.[4] Men of education knew Greek as well as Latin.[5] We read that Duke Sergius presented three volumes of Josephus to the episcopal library,[6] and that St. Athanasius (†872) established schools for singing and reciting, and provided instruction in

[1] See below, p. 69.

[2] On the MSS. of Naples see Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, I. i, pp. 110sqq.; Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl.* i. 230 sqq.; Janelli, *Catalogus bibliothecae latinae veteris et classicae manuscriptae*, &c. (Naples 1827); Blume, *Iter Ital.* iv. 11 sqq.; Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 514 sqq.; Capasso, 'Sulla spogliazione delle biblioteche Napolitane,' in *Archivio storico per le provincie Napol.* iii (1878) 563 sqq. and 671 sqq.; A. Poncelet, 'Catal. codd. hagiog. lat. bibl. Neapolitanarum,' in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxx (1911) 137 sqq.

[3] See above, p. 9.

[4] See 'Gesta Episc. Neapolitanorum', ed. Waitz, in *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS. Rer. Lang. et Ital.*, p. 425.

[5] In the 'Vita Athanasii' (ed. Waitz, ibid., p. 441) we read of Duke Sergius I: 'litteris tam Grecis quam Latinis faborabiliter eruditus est'; the same of his father Gregory: 'in greca latinaque lingua peritissimus.' Stephen III knew Greek and Latin perfectly (see Capasso, *Monum. ad Neap. ducat. hist. pertinentia*, i. 342). John the Deacon translated Greek works (Waitz, ibid., p. 399).

[6] Doubtless a Latin translation. 'Gesta Ep. Neap.', ed. Waitz, p. 434.

letters and in the art of writing;[1] and that in the following century Duke John (945–60) and his consort encouraged translation from Greek into Latin, and showed interest in learning by collecting books and having many MSS. copied.[2]

Unfortunately the Beneventan MSS. which lie in Naples have no sign by which they may be ascribed to the local schools. Yet many of them were probably written there. The 6th-century MS. of Eugippius (Vatic. lat. 3375) which, to judge by the script, may well be one of the books of the ancient Eugippian library,[3] has additions in Beneventan which I dare say are the work of a Neapolitan. It is fairly certain that the Vatican MS. of the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum* (MS. 5007), a portion of which is in Beneventan writing of the 10th century, originated in Naples, since a competent critic like Waitz was ready to regard it as an autograph of its Neapolitan editor.[4] The 13th-century MS. Rome Corsinian. 777 containing the *Acta Aspreni* and *Vita S. Athanasii* came from the monastery of S. Severino, and is in all likelihood a product of Naples, as contents and provenance suggest.[5] Another 13th-century Neapolitan product is the liturgical volume written for the nuns of S. Gregory, now the MS. Rome Chigi C IV 113. According to Traube, the *Historia Miscella* of Landolfus Sagax (Vatic. Pal. lat. 909) was written in Naples.[6] The same may be true of the famous Bamberg MS. P III 20 containing Auxilius and Eugenius Vulgarius. The imperial library of Vienna possesses several Beneventan MSS. which came there from Naples, where they probably originated.[7]

[1] 'Ordinavit autem lectorum et cantorum scolas; nonnullos instituit gramatica imbuendos; alios colligavit ad scribendi officium,' ed. Waitz, ibid., p. 434.

[2] See below, p. 82.

[3] The MS. is in semi-uncials and has most likely the same origin as the semi-uncial MS. of the Ambrosiaster in Monte Cassino (MS. 150), which Traube (*Vorles. u. Abhandl.* i. 202) was inclined to trace back to the Bibliotheca Eugippii.

[4] Cf. *M. G. H. SS. Rer. Lang. et Ital.*, p. 399. [5] ibid., p. 401.

[6] Traube, *Perrona Scottorum*, p. 472.

[7] Cf. F. Menčik, 'Die Neapolitaner HSS. der Hofbibliothek,' in *Mitteil. d. öster-*

Salerno.[1] The delightful and wealthy city of Salerno was also a great seat of learning.[2] Like Monte Cassino it saw its best period in the 11th century. A great patron of the arts and sciences it had in one of its own sons, Alfanus I.[3] He had been called to Salerno from Monte Cassino first to take charge of the Benedictine abbey and then to become bishop. A friend of Pope Gregory VII and of Abbot Desiderius, Alfanus was both a poet and a scholar. It was during his life that Salerno was visited by the celebrated physician and linguist Constantinus Africanus, who was attracted thither partly by Alfanus, partly by the fame of their school of medicine.[4] For the science of medicine flourished in Salerno as nowhere else in Italy.[5] Under the circumstances it is safe to assume that many books were copied there. In the 12th century Salerno had in Archbishop Romuald a man who was praised as a great historian and expert in the physical sciences.[6] A contemporary Beneventan MS. of his Chronicle (Vatic. lat. 3973) came to the Vatican direct from Salerno, where it doubtless originated.[7] The *Liber confratrum S. Matthaei*, still preserved in its chapter library, is of great local interest for the hundreds of obits it contains.[8] Besides the Gospel of Luke, there is only one other Beneventan MS. now in Salerno.

Bari.[9] The claim of Bari to consideration as a centre rests

reich. Vereins f. Bibliothekswesen, viii (1904) 133–48, 170–7 and ix (1905) 31–7; see also below, p. 74.

[1] On the MSS. still in Salerno see Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 529 sq., and below, p. 74.

[2] See Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.*[2] (Modena 1787) iii. 399 sqq.; Giesebrecht, *De litterarum studiis apud Italos*, &c., p. 20; Denifle, *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, i (1885) 232 sqq.

[3] Cf. M. Schipa, *Alfano I Arcivescovo di Salerno* (Salerno 1880).

[4] Schipa, op. cit., p. xxi.

[5] On this school see the works cited above, p. 21.

[6] See *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* xix. 388. [7] See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 90.

[8] See *Archivio Paleografico Italiano*, vii, plates 27–35.

[9] See the Preface to vol. i of *Codice Diplomatico Barese* (Bari 1897). That

not so much upon the number of MSS. which are known to have originated there, as upon the circumstance that these MSS. present a peculiar variety of the South Italian minuscule. In the Exultet Rolls lying in the Cathedral of Bari[1] and in the Commentary on the Octateuch preserved in the Bodleian (Canon. Patr. lat. 175), we have authentic Bari products.[2] These two examples, however, would be an inadequate support upon which to base an argument for the existence of a Bari type, were it not that their script is so characteristic that numerous other MSS., which of themselves give no hint of their origin, must by reason of their resemblance to the known examples be associated with them. That the two examples mentioned actually mirror a local type of writing appears from the fact that the same type is found in documents of Bari.[3] But it was evidently not restricted to Bari. The Bisceglie Gospels show the same style of writing,[4] as do some documents of Trani and Montescaglioso,[5] from which it would seem that the type had considerable vogue throughout the province of Apulia. It is also important to note that this style rather than the Cassinese was chiefly employed in the centres of Dalmatia—a fact which is sufficiently explained by geographical proximity and ecclesiastical relations.[6] Within the region in

Bari had large libraries appears from inventories which still exist. In an inventory of 1362 containing 202 items, the last seventy are thus described: 'Libri alii septuaginta cum tabulis et sine tabulis inter magnos et parvos de lictera longobarda et francigena' (F. Nitti di Vito, *Il Tesoro di San Nicola di Bari* (Trani 1903) p. 36). See also Barbier de Montault, 'Les Manuscrits du Trésor de Bari,' *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, xvi (1877) 226.

[1] Cf. *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, vol. i, appendix. [2] See below, p. 67.

[3] Cf. *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, vol. i, pl. 5, doc. a. 1131: vol. v, pl. 1, doc. a. 1155. For the Bari type *par excellence* see *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi (1884) pl. 3, doc. a. 1047. Also the Cava document A. 27 of the year 1039.

[4] See below, p. 69.

[5] See the Trani document of 1126 written by Petrus 'diaconus et bibliothecarius' now preserved in the Archivio di Stato, Naples. A Trani document of 1177 preserved at Cava has some signatures in the unmistakable Bari type. For Montescaglioso see facs. in *Archiv. Pal. Ital.* iii. 47.

[6] See below, p. 62.

which this variety flourished, the importance of Bari both as the seat of an archbishop and as a seaport is such as to entitle it to give the name to the type. On the characteristics of the Bari type see below, p. 150.

Minor Centres.[1] Besides the centres mentioned above, a few others attract our attention. Considerable copying activity went on in the abbey of S. Liberatore alla Majella, near Chieti, while Theobald was in charge, as we know from the list of books mentioned in the *Commemoratorium Theobaldi* of the year 1019.[2] In the 18th century this monastery still possessed a great number of Beneventan MSS.[3] Another Benedictine house in the Abruzzi, S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto, near Penne, must have had excellent scribes, to judge from the handsome Martyrology which originated there.[4] The ancient abbey of St. Vincent on the Volturno has left us at least two of its products, the MS. (Vatic. Barb. lat. 2724) of the *Chronicon Vulturnense*, and the liturgical MS. Rome Chigi D V 77.[5] S. Maria di Albaneta was too near Monte Cassino to become an important centre, yet it had its own scriptorium, as may be seen from the MS. Monte Cassino 305.[6] The monastery of S. Angelo in Formis, near Capua, has been

[1] It would be useless to enumerate the various small places which once possessed books. In ancient documents books are not infrequently mentioned as forming part of personal or ecclesiastical property. As a rule they are liturgical books. See Tamassia, 'Libri di monasteri e di chiese nell' Italia Meridionale,' in *Atti del R. Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, lxiv. 2 (1904–5) 273 sqq.

[2] See below, p. 79 sq.

[3] Cf. *Collectio bullarum sacrosanctae Basilicae Vaticanae*, i (Rome 1747) appendix, 'Dissertatio de abbatia Majellana,' p. iv.: 'viget adhuc monachis frequens et monumentis Langobardorum charactere conscriptis celeberrimum.' See also Caravita, *I codici*, i. 321.

[4] See below, p. 75.

[5] See below, p. 75.

[6] See the subscription given below, p. 332. See also p. 75. In Monte Cassino 74 mention is made of books presented to the monastery: cf. Caravita, op. cit. ii. 76; Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, no. 46; Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, p. 413.

mentioned above. That it had a very respectable library appears from an extant inventory.[1] The episcopal city of Troja was not without its scriptorium. Several of the Beneventan MSS. which are now in the National Library of Naples came thither from Troja.[2] In one of these, Naples VI B 12, containing Pomerius' *De vita contemplativa*, we have a small catalogue of the books presented to the Ecclesia Troiana by its bishop, William, who was consecrated in 1108.[3] An Exultet Roll is still in Troja. The neighbouring church of S. Lorenzo in Carminiano, which belonged to Troja, also possessed books.[4] One of the largest MSS. in our script, Naples VI B 3 (an anon. Haymo, *Comment. in epist. Pauli*), was written there, as we learn from the scribe Ascarus, who has left us minute particulars of the circumstances.[5] Beneventan MSS. also existed in the chapter library of Larino.[6]

Of the minor centres in which the Beneventan script was employed, special mention must be made of those in Dalmatia,

[1] A very interesting catalogue of the books of this monastery is entered in Monte Cassino 49: cf. Caravita, op. cit. ii. 180 sq.; Becker, op. cit., no. 120; Gottlieb, op. cit., p. 239.

[2] See below, p. 77. Bishop Cavalieri (1694–1739) of Troja was a Neapolitan. It was through him that the library of Troja was sold. Cf. Stefanelli, *Memorie storiche della città di Troja* (Naples 1879) p. 248.

[3] Nine books are enumerated (fol. 260v); the eighth item reads: 'Nono anno obtulit me ipsum qui dicor prosper de uita contemplatiua.' The whole catalogue is published by Gottlieb in *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, v (1888) 497. Of interest for the history of the bronze doors of the Troja Cathedral is the last item: 'Decimo anno (i.e. 1118) obtulit librum . . . et principium portarum enearum que iam incepte erant a decimo kal. febr.'

[4] The church no longer exists, but the name survives, the Bishop of Troja having the title of Barone di S. Lorenzo in Carminiano; cf. Stefanelli, op. cit., p. 62, n. 2.

[5] See the subscription given below, p. 322.

[6] Cf. Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 534. Bethmann's statement (op. cit., p. 534) is apparently made on the authority of G. A. Tria, *Memorie storiche di Larino* (Rome 1744) p. 634. There seem to be no MSS. left. A Beneventan MS. of the Gospels used to exist in the cathedral; cf. A. Magliano, *Considerazioni storiche sulla città di Larino* (Campobasso 1895) pp. 56 sqq.

since a double interest attaches to them: first, because they lie outside of Italy; second, because they serve as an excellent illustration of the value of palaeography as an independent witness to relations between one land and another. It will not seem amiss, therefore, if the Dalmatian schools are treated by themselves.

Dalmatian Centres.[1] The maritime cities of Dalmatia have ever formed the natural border-land between different races, religions, and languages.[2] They witnessed the struggle now between the Greek and Latin worlds, now between Latin civilization and barbarism. It is as the outposts of that Latin civilization that they interest us here. If we examine their oldest MSS. and documents we are struck by the curious fact that their script is the same as that used in Southern Italy

[1] On the historical sources of Dalmatia see J. Lucius, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* (Amsterdam 1666); Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* (Venice 1751–1819); Kukuljević, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (Agram 1874–); Fr. Rački, 'Documenta historiae Chroatiae periodum antiquam illustrantia,' published in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. vii (Agram 1877). Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, voll. ii–viii (Agram 1904–10), edidit Academia Slavorum meridionalium. The first volume, which is to replace Rački's *Documenta*, has not yet appeared. See also the excellent ethnographical study by C. Jireček, 'Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters,' in *Denkschriften d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, voll. 48 (1902) part 3, and 49 (1904) part 1; and the standard philological treatise by M. G. Bartoli, 'Das Dalmatische,' in *Kais. Akad. d. Wiss., Schriften der Balkan-Kommission, linguistische Abteilung*, voll. iv–v (Vienna 1906). Palaeographically important is the monograph by M. v. Sufflay, 'Die dalmatinische Privaturkunde,' in *Sitzungsber. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, vol. 147 (1904) part vi. On the culture of Dalmatia there is an article by Fr. Rački in *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije*, cxv (1893) 37 sqq. Most of my information about Dalmatia I owe to the very generous assistance of Prof. C. Jireček of the University of Vienna and of Mgr. Fr. Bulič, Director of the archaeological museum of Spalato, both eminent authorities on Dalmatia. It is with pleasure that I make public acknowledgement to them of my profound sense of gratitude as well as admiration. For information on MSS. in Ragusa I am indebted to the great kindness of the learned Dominican P. Ant. Zaninović.

[2] E. A. Freeman, *Historical Essays*, 3rd series, 2nd ed. (London 1892) pp. 22 sqq.

—a circumstance which has heretofore practically escaped attention.[1] The fact can have but one interpretation: it shows that the Latin culture of Dalmatia flowed chiefly from Southern Italy. Had no historical evidence concerning mediaeval Dalmatia reached us, the peculiar script of Dalmatian documents and MSS. from the 10th to the 13th century would have furnished patent and undeniable proof that the culture of Dalmatia was derived to a great extent from its Italian neighbours across the sea. As it is, the conclusion based on palaeographical considerations is confirmed by historical facts.

In the year 986 when the monastery of S. Chrysogonus of Zara was rebuilt, the prior and nobles of the city, desiring to get for the abbey the most competent head possible, invited Madius, a monk of Monte Cassino, to become its abbot.[2] At a time when the Benedictines were practically the sole custodians of learning, the coming to Dalmatia of a monk schooled in the most enlightened Benedictine centre was probably not without some importance to the culture of Dalmatia. Relations between Monte Cassino and Ragusa are attested by the inscription on the bronze door of Monte Cassino, which records the patrimony of St. Benedict at the time of Abbot Desiderius: *in Dalmatia prope civitatem Ragusiam ecclesia sanctae Mariae in loco qui dicitur in Rabiata.*[3] The Benedictine abbey of Lacroma, near Ragusa, was founded in 1023 by Peter, a monk from the Tremiti Islands.[4] Between these islands and Monte Cassino there

[1] Our text-books nowhere mention the fact. The Croatian scholar Fr. Rački was probably the first to call attention to it in *Rad Jug. Akad.* xxvi (1874) 166, 168. It has been more clearly stated by Prof. v. Sufflay in *Századok* (Rev. of the Hungar. Histor. Society) xxxix (1905) 301 sq. Knowledge of this article I owe to the kindness of Prof. v. Sufflay himself. For the translation I am indebted to Dr. Scheffler. For the translation of some of Rački's articles I am obliged to the courtesy of the Rev. P. Zec.

[2] Rački, *Documenta hist. Chroat.*, &c., p. 21.

[3] Tosti, *Storia della badia di Monte Cassino*, i (Naples 1842) 407; Smičiklas, *Cod. dipl.*, &c., i. 212, 285, 294.

[4] Farlati, op. cit. vi. 44. The original charter is missing, but two copies (one in Beneventan) are preserved in the archives of Ragusa.

were constant and varied relations in the 11th century. We know from an extant MS. that the Beneventan script was used on the islands.[1] After the conflagration in Ragusa three monks of Monte Cassino are supposed to have come over to restore the Benedictine order in that city.[2] A Bari architect took a leading part in the construction, about 1199, of the Ragusa cathedral.[3] In 1081 and again between 1185 and 1192 Ragusa made common cause with the Normans of South Italy.[4] The town of Cattaro, situated between Ragusa and Antivari, was subject to the ecclesiastical rule of the Archbishop of Bari.[5] It is a well-known fact that there was continuous commercial intercourse between the cities of Apulia and those of Dalmatia.[6]

That the Latin culture of the eastern shore of the Adriatic should be but an extension of that which prevailed on the western is natural enough. But the remarkable fact is that the dominant forces in that culture were Apulian rather than North Italian, as script and dialect show. Until the 15th century, when it began to yield to the Venetian, the dialect of Dalmatia resembled more that of Apulia than any dialect of North Italy.[7] And the style of Beneventan writing usually practised in Dalmatia is of the variety represented by the Bari type, that is to say, by the type which we find throughout Apulia.[8]

As Dalmatian centres of importance may be mentioned

[1] The MS. Vatic. lat. 10657, *Diplomata abbatiae S. Mariae de Mare.* See below, p. 76.

[2] Farlati, op. cit. vi. 45.

[3] According to an unpublished chronicle of Gondola to which Prof. Jireček kindly called my attention.

[4] See Heinemann, *Geschichte d. Normannen in Unteritalien u. Sicilien*, &c., i (1894) 313, and Smičiklas, *Cod. dipl.*, &c., ii. 201, 245.

[5] Jireček, op. cit. i. 47.

[6] Jireček, 'Die Bedeutung von Ragusa in der Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters,' in *Almanach d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien*, xlix (1899) 375.

[7] Cf. Jireček, *Die Romanen*, &c., i. 79; Bartoli, op. cit. i. 312–3.

[8] See the list of MSS. in the Bari type given below, p. 151 sq.

Spalato, Ragusa, Zara, and Traù, especially Zara, which possessed the Benedictine houses of S. Chrysogonus and S. Maria, the latter a nunnery which is still in existence.

The fact that the documents of Dalmatia from the 10th to the 12th century were written in Beneventan[1] would naturally suggest that the same script was employed in the production of books.[2] The extant Beneventan MSS. which originated in Dalmatia make this quite certain. The following have come to my notice:

Agram, Archiep. library. Fragment of Psalter a. 1015–1030. Written by the deacon Maius for Archbishop Paul of Spalato.[3] See chapter xiv, p. 331.

Berlin Theol. Quart. 278. Evangeliarium. Saec. xi ex. 'Liber ecclesie sancti Symeonis' (fol. 1). On foll. 1v, 191, and 191v Beneventan entries in which Zara is mentioned.[4]

Cattaro, Pontificalis fragm. Saec. xii. Found in Ragusa by the Franciscan P. Rode, its present custodian (S. Chiara at Cattaro).[5]

[1] Cf. Rački, *Doc. hist. Chroat.*; the documents numbered 20, 29, 32, 36, 38, 42, 53, 54, 57, 60, 61, 63a, 71a, 85, 97, 124, 136; Sufflay, *Századok*, xxxix. 302, n. 23.

[2] Prof. v. Sufflay (op. cit., p. 302) is of opinion that Beneventan was the ruling script of Dalmatia and ordinary minuscule the exception. I am inclined to agree with this view for these reasons: (1) the Beneventan script lasted in Dalmatia, as several MSS. show, to the end of the 13th century, a fact which, to my mind, presupposes the predominance of Beneventan during the centuries preceding; (2) in a *nota librorum* which we find in the 11th-century inventory of St. Peter, a monastery in Selo, over two dozen liturgical books are recorded, the last item being: *psalterium cum litteris francigenis* (Rački, op. cit., p. 181, doc. no. 142). As nothing is said of the script of the other MSS. it is reasonable to suppose that French letters (i. e. ordinary minuscule) were the exception in this region; and if this interpretation is correct, it follows that Beneventan was the normal script. A parallel case has been cited above, p. 24, n. 6.

[3] Rački in *Starine Jugoslavenska Akademija*, vii (1875) 47 sq. and pl. 2; and Sufflay in *Századok*, xxxix. 302, n. 23. My attention was called to these articles by Prof. v. Sufflay.

[4] For information on this MS. I am indebted to Dr. E. Jacobs of the Berlin Royal Library and to Dr. L. Bertalot.

[5] See A. Zaninović in *Rassegna Gregoriana*, x (1911) 389 sqq.

Chantilly, Musée Condé. Necrologium Ragusanum. Saec. xiii. Four leaves taken out of the cover of an Aldine edition of Xenophon (1503) —Anciens Imprimés, no. 1994.[1]

Oxford Bodl. Canon. Bibl. lat. 61. Evangeliarium. Saec. xi ex. Written for the nuns of St. Mary of Zara, as appears from prayers on fol. 123.[2]

Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277. Monastic Hours. Saec. xi ex. Written for a Benedictine nunnery of Zara, as Litany shows (foll. 69–72^{v}).[3]

Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 342. Missal. Saec. xiii. For the use of Ragusa, as appears from the saints named, fol. 87 sq.[4]

Ragusa, Library of Dominicans. Fragments from eight different MSS.[5]:

(*a*) Homeliar. Saec. xi ex. 4 leaves.

(*b*) Haymo, Expos. in 2 Corinth. Saec. xi. 2 leaves. Pure Bari type.

(*c*) Vet. Test. 2 Reg. Saec. xii. 2 leaves. Recalls Bari type.

(*d*) Expos. in Psal. 118, 119. Saec. xi. 1 leaf. Formerly in the monastery S. Pietro Martire in Cittavecchia di Lessina (Starigrad). Discovered by A. Zaninović, its present guardian.

(*e*) Homeliar. Saec. xi. 1 leaf. Recalls Bari type.

[1] The obit of Archbishop Bonaventura, who died 1293, is entered in Beneventan. I learned of these leaves from the late L. Delisle; M. G. Macon of the Musée Condé kindly furnished me with photographs.

[2] Cf. Madan, *A Summary Catal. of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, v, p. xv (Nicholson's addition).

[3] Cf. Madan, op. cit. iv. 372 and v, p. xiv (Nicholson's addition).

[4] Cf. Madan, op. cit. iv. 386 and v, p. xvi, where H. M. Bannister's correct view is adopted.

[5] The Dominican scholar P. A. Zaninović kindly furnished me with tracings and detailed descriptions of these fragments. I am indebted to him for my knowledge of them.

(*f*) Homeliar. Saec. xi. 2 leaves. The writing seems identical with that of the preceding MS.

(*g*) Sententiae PP. Saec. xii. 4 leaves. Script recalls later Bari type.

(*h*) Expos. in Vet. Test. Saec. xi. 1 leaf. Bari type.

Rome Vatic. Borgian. lat. 339. Evangeliarium a. 1082. Written in Ossero in the monastery of St. Nicholas.[1]

Spalato, Archiv. Capitol. Evangeliarium. Saec. viii in. Uncial. A few additions are in Beneventan (foll. 135, 136, 136^{v}, 242^{v}).[2]

Spalato, Archiv. Capitol. Historia Salonitana. Saec. xiii.[3] In all probability the autograph of Thomas, Archdeacon of Spalato (†1268).

Traù, Archiv. Capitol. Evangeliarium. Saec. xii.[4] Very interesting miniatures.

Vienna University, Instit. f. oester. Geschichtsforschung. Fragments of various liturgical MSS.[5] bought of a bookbinder of Traù, where they in all probability originated.

Zara, Archives of the Convent of St. Mary. Codex S. Mariae Iadrensis. Saec. xii. Part i is Beneventan.[6]

Zara, Archiep. Archives. Codex monasterii S. Grisogoni. Saec. xii.[7]

[1] Cf. Ebner, *Iter Italicum*, p. 308; Cagin in *Rev. des bibliothèques*, xii (1902) 41–73. Facs. in Ehrle-Liebaert, *Specimina codd. lat. Vatic.*, pl. 16; H. M. Bannister, *Paleog. musicale Vaticana*, pl. 73b.

[2] The Rev. Mgr. Fr. Bulič kindly furnished me with tracings of these additions. For a detailed description of the MS. see *Ephemeris Spalatensis* (1894) pp. 33 sqq.

[3] Cf. I. Kršnjavi, *Zur Historia Salonitana des Thomas Archidiaconus von Spalato* (Agram 1900) p. 3 sq.

[4] The script is of the Bari type. The miniatures, according to P. Liebaert, are Byzantine. The MS. is, I believe, a local product. Of the Traù MS. I learned from Dr. R. Eisler. Photographs were sent me by Mgr. Fr. Bulič.

[5] Several of the fragments show the Bari type of writing. My attention was called to them by Dr. Eisler.

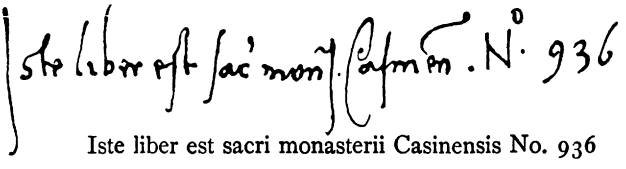
[6] Cf. Rački, *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije*, xxvi (1874) 166; Sufflay, *Die dalmatinische Privaturkunde*, p. 41.

[7] Cf. Rački, ibid. xxxvi (1876) 140; Sufflay, op. cit., p. 42, n. 1; p. 153, n. 5.

The Centres and their Known Products
List of Localized MSS.

The extant Beneventan MSS. of known origin constitute our surest guide for reconstructing the centres in the Beneventan zone. In the list which follows I have tried to indicate briefly the reasons which led me to connect a MS. with this or that centre. The evidence is varied in its nature, but I have included nothing which did not present either certainty or strong probability in its favour. In some cases the origin of a MS. is known, in others only the provenance. Occasionally a subscription gives us unimpeachable evidence for origin. More often the liturgy of a MS. betrays its home, as for instance mention of local saints, dedication of local churches, prayers for a given bishop or abbot, or obituary entries of various sorts. In some books the contents may at times furnish a trustworthy hint of the locality which produced them. The *ex libris*, being later entries, do not always give us the original home. Thus the MSS. Paris lat. 7530 and Rome Casanat. 641, part i, have a 15th-century *ex libris* which connects them with Benevento, yet as a matter of fact they originated in Monte Cassino, as their contents prove.

Facsimile of the usual Monte Cassino 'Ex libris'.



Iste liber est sacri monasterii Casinensis No. 936

Facsimile of a Beneventan 'Ex libris'.



liber ecclesie maioris beneuentane

In the following list a star is prefixed to MSS. which are reproduced and described in *Scriptura Beneventana*. See the works there cited. For literature on the different centres see above, pp. 49 sqq. Where the evidence for the origin of a MS. is obvious (e.g. a breviary for the use of Monte Cassino, a martyrology for the use of Benevento, &c.) no authorities are cited.

Bari. See above, pp. 56 sqq. Two *Exultet Rolls[1] and a Benedictio fontis lie in the cathedral library.[2] The MS. *Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 has an acrostic referring to Melus of Bari, and the following entry (fol. 109v) which connects it with Bari: 'sciatur liber iste esse accomodatus a cappella beati Nicolai.' Rome Casanat. 1101 (A II 32) has quire marks like those of the Oxford MS. The writing is of the pure Bari type. The MS. Vienna 394 (Leges Langob.), saec. xii/xiii, has on fol. 96v an entry relating to a person from Bari: 'iste liber est abbatis Guillielmi Macciacocte de Baro,' &c.[3] The script shows the later Bari type.

Benevento. See above, p. 52 sq. There are still forty-one Beneventan MSS. preserved in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Benevento. The following MSS. originated in Benevento:

Cava 4 (inner evidence).[4]

London Add. MS. 23776 (Martyrol. S. Sophiae Benev.).

Macerata Biblioteca Comunale (Pontificale monasterii S. Petri Benev.).[5]

*Naples VI E 43 (Breviarium S. Sophiae Benev.).

Naples San Martino 3 (Hymnar. eccl. Beneventanae).

[1] On 'Exultet' rolls see Dom Latil, *Le miniature nei rotuli dell' Exultet* (Monte Cassino 1899–1901); É. Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris 1904) i. 216 sqq., and the accompanying *Iconographie comparée des rouleaux de l'Exultet*; H. M. Bannister in *Jour. Theol. Stud.* xi (1909) 43 sqq.

[2] On the Bari rolls see *Codice Diplomatico Barese* (Bari 1897) i. 205 sqq.; Bertaux, and Bannister, opp. citt.

[3] Cf. *Cod. Dip. Barese*, i. 184, where the name occurs. The document was pointed out to me by Dr. E. Carusi.

[4] Bluhme, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Legg.* iv, p. xxx and p. 652, n. 27.

[5] Cf. Colini-Baldeschi in *Atti e Memorie della R. deputazione di storia patria per le provincie delle Marche*, Nuova Serie, i (1904) 441 sqq.

Naples San Martino 11 (Breviarium monasterii S. Deodati Benev.).

*Rome Casanat. 1086 (contents and provenance).[1]

Rome Casanat. 724, part i (Pontificale signed 'Landolfi episcopi sum').[2]

Rome Casanat. 724, part ii (Benedictio fontis; the added verses:

> Egregius presul landolfus sanctior alter
> tempore sub cuius dicata est virginis aula,

probably refer to Landolfus II of Benevento).[3]

*Vatic. lat. 4928 (Annales Benev.).

*Vatic. lat. 4939 (Chron. S. Sophiae Benev.).

Vatic. lat. 4955 (historical note regarding Landulfus of S. Sophia, see p. 78).

Vatic. lat. 5419 (Necrolog. S. Laurent. Benev.).

*Vatic. lat. 5949 (Martyrol. S. Sophiae Benev.).

*Vatic. lat. 9820 (Exultet Roll S. Petri Benev.).

The following MSS. have a 15th-century *ex libris* connecting them with Benevento.[4] See facsimile on p. 66.

*Paris lat. 7530 (Monte Cassino): liƀ ēcc^{e} ben$^{(n)e}$, fol. 1.

*Rome Casanat. 641, part i (Monte Cassino): liƀ. maioris ēcc^{e} ben$^{n(e)}$, fol. 1.

*Rome Casanat. 1086: liber maioris ēcc^{e} ben^{ne}, fol. 26^{v}.

*Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823: liƀ maioris ēcc^{e} ben^{ne}, fol. 1; liƀ ēcc^{e} ben^{ne}, fol. 118.

*Vatic. lat. 3313: liƀ prisciani ēcc^{e} ben^{ne}, fol. 1; ēcclie maioris ben^{ne}, fol. 281^{v}.

*Vatic. Regin. lat. 1267: liƀ ecc^{e} maioris ben^{ne}, fol. 150^{v}.

[1] Morelli, *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. v, vol. xix (1910) 288, n. 2. Mark of ownership by hand of 15th century: 'liber maioris ecc^{e} ben^{ne}' (fol. 26^{v}).

[2] Landolfus I of Benevento (957–83). Script and style and decoration favour this date. This roll doubtless goes together with the 'Benedictio fontis' which later belonged to Landolfus II (1108–19). Bertaux, op. cit., p. 214 sq.

[3] E. A. Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, p. 7, n. 3.

[4] Loew, op. cit., p. 5, n. 2.

*Vatic. lat. 5007 (Naples): iste lib̄ ben°, fol. 1; iste lib̄ ē d(omni) Barth(olom)ei condest(abuli) de ben^to (last leaf).

Excepting the first two and the last the above MSS. may very well have originated in Benevento.

Bisceglie. Evangeliarium in the cathedral library, presumably a local product. Script shows the Bari type.[1]

Caiazzo. Vatic. Barb. lat. 603 (XIII 12). Missale. The liturgy and an *ex libris* now lost connect the book with Caiazzo.[2]

Capua. See above, p. 53. The cathedral library has an Exultet Roll.[3] The following MSS. of Capuan origin now lie in Monte Cassino:

*Monte Cassino 175 (written for Abbot John I of Capua).

*Vatic. lat. 5845 (palaeographical grounds). Shows same characteristics as preceding MS. See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 40.

*Monte Cassino 269 (subscription). See below, p. 325.

*Monte Cassino 230 (obit of 'docibilis abb.' speaks for Capua).

*Register of S. Angelo in Formis (contents).

Cava. See above, p. 51. Only a dozen Beneventan MSS. are found in Cava, and not all of these originated there. The MSS. 3, *18, *19, and *24, however, are authentic Cava products. The MS. Vatic. lat. 3764 once belonged to Cava. It is very doubtful whether it was written there.

Fondi. Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 710. Exultet Roll.[4] The prayers 'antistite nostro Benedicto (1100) cum omni congregatione beatissimi Petri,' &c., refer to Fondi.

Gaeta. Three Exultet Rolls.[5] Doubtless local products, to judge from writing and miniatures.

Mirabella Eclano. Exultet Roll.[6] Probably a local product.

[1] The Prussian Historical Institute at Rome possesses a photograph. Prof. Haseloff kindly called my attention to it.

[2] See *Paléographie musicale*, ii, pl. 23.

[3] The MS. of the Acts and Epistles in the Seminario Arcivescovile at Capua is not a local product, as it shows the Bari type. The same is true of the MS. of Augustine. For tracings of the latter I am obliged to the director of the Seminary, Cav. Luigi Piccirillo. On the Exultet cf. *Mon. Pal. Sacra*, pl. 32; see also p. 67, n. 1.

[4] See above, p. 67, n. 1. Facs. in Latil, op. cit. [5] See p. 67, n. 1. [6] ibid.

Monte Cassino. See above, pp. 49 sqq. Of the more than 200 MSS. in Beneventan writing now in Monte Cassino, not all were written there. Some came from Capua,[1] others from S. Maria di Albaneta, still others from neighbouring monasteries like S. Benedetto di Cesamo, S. Benedetto di Clia, and S. Nicola della Cicogna. The finest and most important Cassinese products now lie in other libraries: some of the best examples, from the point of view of calligraphy and decoration, are in Rome, London, Paris, and Naples. The most valuable classical texts are now in the Laurentian library at Florence. The following MSS. come from Monte Cassino:

Arezzo S. Maria della Fraternità MS. VI 3. Itinerarium Aetheriae (Peregrinatio Silviae) and Hilarii Liber Mysteriorum, the latter written for Abbot Desiderius, the former used by Petrus Diaconus, therefore of Cassinese origin.[2]

Bologna Univ. 2843 (S. Salvatore 486). The MS. contains a small dedication copy destined for Pope Gregory VII of a work by the Cassinese monk Amatus, copied in 1070.[3]

*Cava 2. Has calendar of Monte Cassino.

Flor. Laurent. 29. 2. Apuleius. A copy of Flor. Laurent. 68. 2, which comes from Monte Cassino. As the Beneventan classics of the Laurentian form, I believe, one group, the presumption is that MS. 29. 2 is also of Cassinese origin.

Flor. Laurent. 51. 10. Varro, De lingua latina. Where Casinum is mentioned in the text there is a *Nota* in the margin—an entry which has suggested to Spengel the idea that the MS. came from Monte Cassino. The script supports this view.[4]

[1] The list given by Caravita, *I codici*, &c., i. 101, is to be used with caution. The list is reprinted in *Bibl. Casin.* i, Appendix, p. lvii.

[2] See Gamurrini, *Sanctae Silviae Aquitanae Peregrinatio ad sancta loca*[2] (1888); A. Wilmart in *Rev. Bénéd.* xxv (1908) 466.

[3] L. Frati, *Indice dei codici latini conservati nella R. Biblioteca universitaria di Bologna* (1909) p. 548.

[4] Traube, *Textgeschichte d. Reg. S. Ben.*[2], p. 91.

Flor. Laurent. 66. 1. Hegesippus. The script is unmistakably Cassinese of the early 11th century.[1]

Flor. Laurent. 66. 21. Justin. A 15th-century entry on fol. 1: 'Iste liber est ecc^{e} Casinen.' This is not the usual *ex libris* of Monte Cassino MSS.[2] reproduced above, p. 66.

Flor. Laurent. 68. 2. Tacitus, Apuleius. The entire history of the MS., as well as the writing, speaks clearly for Monte Cassino as its home.[3]

London Add. MS. 30337. Exultet Roll. Script, decoration, and provenance speak for Cassinese origin. The MSS. Vatic. lat. 3784 and Vatic. Barb. lat. 592 are stylistically related and come from the same scriptorium.[4]

Madrid 19 (A 16). Contents and illustrations are said to connect the MS. with Monte Cassino.[5]

Milan Ambros. C 90 inf. Seneca. On fol. 2^{v} is the 15th-century *ex libris*: 'iste liber est . . . Congregationis Casinensis signatus sub numero . . .' The book may have been presented by Monte Cassino to a monastery of its congregation. The script is unmistakably Cassinese in type. In 1583 the MS. belonged to Antonio Francesco Caracciolo at Messina.[6]

*Munich 4623. Leo Ostiensis, Chron. Casin. with autograph additions. Manifestly of Cassinese origin.

*Naples VIII C 4. Martyrol. Casinense.

*Paris lat. 7530. Has calendar of Monte Cassino. In the 15th century the MS. lay in Benevento, as appears from the *ex libris* (see above, p. 68).

[1] Not Desiderian, as Mommsen conjectured. Cf. *M. G. H. Chron. Min.* i. 355.

[2] G. Mercati in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Attilio Hortis*, p. 977, n. 1; Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici*, &c., p. 31, n. 40.

[3] See Rostagno's preface in the Leyden Series, *Codd. Gr. et Lat. photographice depicti*, vol. vii, pars 2.

[4] Bertaux, op. cit., p. 226 sqq.; *Pal. Soc.* i, pl. 146. See also works cited above, p. 67, n. 1.

[5] See P. v. Winterfeld, *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen* (Berlin 1900) p. 395 sq., on whose authority I give the MS. here. I have not myself seen it.

[6] See Gertz, *L. Ann. Senecae Dial. lib. xii*, p. v.

*Paris Mazar. 364. Breviarium Casinense. Cf. Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585, which it closely resembles.

*Rome Casanat. 641, part i. Has calendar of Monte Cassino. After the end of the 9th century it lay in Benevento. It was still there in the 15th century, as can be seen from the *ex libris* cited above, p. 68.

*Vatic. lat. 1202. Vita S. Benedicti, &c. Written for Abbot Desiderius, as may be seen from acrostic verses in his honour on fol. 1v.

Vatic. lat. 1203. Desiderius, Miracula S. Benedicti. Script and contents speak strongly for Monte Cassino.[1]

Vatic. lat. 3227. Cicero's Philippics, &c. On fol. 24 in right margin is the entry CASINUM written vertically. On the last page is the *probatio pennae*: 'Raynaldi dei gratia' (sc. *abbatis casinensis*). These two items speak for Cassinese origin and the writing supports them.

Vatic. lat. 3262. Ovid. On fol. 1v by hand of 16th century the characteristic *ex libris*: 'Iste liber est sci monas. Casinen. No. 743'. See facs., p. 66. For other MSS. with this entry see G. Mercati, op. cit., p. 976 sq.

Vatic. lat. 3784. Exultet Roll. Cf. London Add. MS. 30337.

*Vatic. lat. 4958. Martyrol. Casinense. On fol. 1v the usual *ex libris*. See facs., p. 66.

Vatic. lat. 5735. Gregor. M. Dial. Cassinese *ex libris* on fol. 1, partly erased. See facs., p. 66.

Vatic. lat. 6082. Missale Casinense. *Ex libris* on fol. 1, now hardly visible. See facs., p. 66.

Vatic. Barb. lat. 592 (XIII 1). Exultet Roll. Cf. London Add. MS. 30337.

Vatic. Barb. lat. 631 (XIV 4). Pontificale Casinense. On fol. 1 the *ex libris* of Monte Cassino. See facs., p. 66.

*Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211. Cassinese calendar. The MS. belonged to Leo Ostiensis. Through him it came to Velletri. The same is doubtless true of the Velletri Exultet.

[1] Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii (1874) 224.

Vatic. Ottob. lat. 3. Martyrol. Casinense. On fol. 1 of the MS. proper the *ex libris* is still discernible. See facs., p. 66.

Vatic. Ottob. gr. 250. Pieces of a beautiful martyrology, used to strengthen the binding of a Greek MS. from Monte Cassino, as appears from entry on fol. 9, 'Nilus ex Monte Cassino.' The script is of the best period.

Vatic. Ottob. lat. 1406. Porphyrius, Cicero, Boethius. On fol. ii the usual Cassinese *ex libris*. See facs., p. 66. A different entry on fol. i: 'iste Lib̄ ē Mon̄ Casin̄' (man. s. xiv).

Vatic. Ottob. lat. 1939. Macrobius, &c. On fol. ii the Cassinese *ex libris*: see facs., p. 66. On fol. i (man. s. xiv): 'Liber fr*atr*um Casin̄,' &c.

*Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585. Breviarium Casinense. Cf. *Paris Mazar. 364.

*Vatican Archives Regesti Vat. 1. Register of John VIII. On fol. 1 (man. s. xiii ex.): 'liber fratrum casinensium.'

Velletri Exultet Roll. Presumably brought thither by Leo Ostiensis. See Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211.[1]

Monte Vergine. Vatic. lat. 5100. Evangeliarium. (Liturgical evidence.[2])

Naples. See above, p. 54 sq.

Flor. Laurent. S. Marco 604. (List of Neapolitan bishops.)

Naples VIII B 1. Vitae SS. (Local saints.)

Naples VIII B 7. Vitae SS. (Local saints.)

Naples VIII B 8. Vitae SS. (Local saints.)

Rome Chigi C IV 113. (Liturgical evidence on fol. 92. For use of nuns of S. Gregory of Naples.[3])

*Rome Corsinian. 777. (Contents: Acta Aspreni, Vita S. Athanasii; provenance S. Severino of Naples.)

*Vatic. lat. 3375. Eugippius, in semi-uncial. The Beneventan additions are presumably by a Neapolitan scribe.

[1] P. Fedele, *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.* xxx (1910) 313 sqq.

[2] H. M. Bannister, *Paleografia musicale Vaticana*, p. 133, no. 378.

[3] A 16th-century hand wrote on the fly-leaf: 'Off. B. Virg. Sanctimonialium uenerab. et uetust. monast. S. Gregorii epī Magnę Armenię et Martyris quod Neapoli olim sub regula S. Basilii graecis ritibus diu floruit, nunc uero obseruant regulam S. Benedicti.'

*Vatic. lat. 5007. Gesta Episc. Neapolit. The Beneventan portion is regarded by Waitz as probably autograph, hence Neapolitan.[1]

*Vatic. Pal. lat. 909. Historia Miscella. Presumably of Neapolitan origin.[2]

The following MSS. lay in Naples. One or more of them may have originated there:

Monte Cassino 805. August. Sermones. On last p. 'est mon. SS. Severini et Sosii a Neapoli'. A similar entry on fol. 1.

*Vienna 27. Servius on Virgil. Belonged to the Augustinian monastery of S. Giovanni a Carbonara.[3]

*Vienna 58. Virgil. Belonged to the same monastery.

Vienna 981. Comment. in Psalmos. 'Liber monachorum congregationis S. Iustine de Padua deputatum Mon. Sanctorum Severini et Sosii.'

Vienna 1188. Bible. 'Ex dono V. Clmi Michaelis Troysii V. I. D. Archivio domus SS. Apostolorum clericorum Regularium de urbe Neapolis.'

Ossero (Dalmatia[4]). Vatic. Borgian. lat. 339. Evangeliarium. Liturgy used in Monastery of S. Nicola in Ossero; cf. foll. 59, 81.

Ragusa (Dalmatia[5]). *Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 342. Ragusa missal. Chantilly, Musée Condé. Fragments of a Ragusa necrology. The Beneventan fragments in Ragusa mentioned above, p. 64 sq., may in part at least have originated there.

Salerno. See above, p. 56. The chapter library has two Beneventan MSS.: (1) Gospel of St. Luke and Liber confratrum S. Matthaei; (2) a Lectionarium. The MS. *Vatic. lat. 3973, Chronicon Romualdi ep. Salernitani, came to the Vatican from Salerno, doubtless its original home.

S. Angelo in Formis. See Capua. Monte Cassino 49

[1] See above, p. 55. [2] ibid.
[3] On the Vienna MSS. see above, p. 55, n. 7.
[4] See list of Dalmatian MSS. given on pp. 63 sqq.
[5] ibid.

has a very interesting catalogue of its books. See above, p. 59, note 1.

S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto. Martyrologium of this abbey in library of H. Yates Thompson, Esq., in London. MS. no. 8 in the Catalogue.[1]

S. Benedetto di Cesamo. Monte Cassino MSS. 271, 543, 760, as appears from the *ex libris*. Cf. Caravita, *I codici*, &c., i. 112.

S. Benedetto di Clia. Monte Cassino 52, as appears from the *ex libris*. Caravita, i. 111.

S. Liberatore alla Majella. See above, p. 58. Some of the Theobaldan MSS. in Monte Cassino probably originated in this abbey.

S. Lorenzo in Carminiano. *Naples VI B 3 (subscription). See below, p. 322.

S. Maria di Albaneta. The MSS. from this monastery are now in Monte Cassino. We know that *Monte Cassino 305 was written in Albaneta. See above, p. 58. The following MSS. show the Albaneta *ex libris*: Monte Cassino 51, 74, 81, 127, 198, *305, 310, 317, 318, 426, 463, 521, 535. According to Caravita (i. 107) some others may have come from Albaneta.

S. Michele. Monte Cassino 103. On last leaf the entry 'olim S. Michaeli'. Caravita, i. 108, 112; ii. 74 sq.

S. Nicola della Cicogna. The MSS. Monte Cassino 179, 191, and 372, as appears from the *ex libris*. Caravita, i. 109, 112; ii. 44.

S. Vincenzo al Volturno. *London Add. MS. 5463 (subscription). Later it belonged to the convent of S. Peter in Benevento. For literature see above, p. 41, n. 6.

*Vatic. Barb. lat. 2724 (XXXIV 41). Chron. Vulturnense.

Rome Chigi D V 77, as appears from litany on fol. 45. The names of SS. Benedict and Vincent are the only ones

[1] M. R. James, *A descriptive catalogue of fifty MSS. in the collection of H. Y. Thompson* (1898) p. 37. Both D. Quentin (*Les martyrologes*, p. 691) and myself (*Die ältesten Kalendarien, &c.*, p. 83) came independently to the conclusion that the MS. belonged to the Abbey in the Abruzzi.

specially decorated. On fol. 65 are prayers for the abbot of St. Vincent.

Rome Vallicell. D 8. Bible. Has a 15th-century entry on fol. 101 v which connects it with St. Vincent: 'Anno domini MCCCCLXXX . . . in quo tempore regnabat Ferdinandus rex feliciter et Karolus prothonotarius et Vrsinus perpetuus commendatarius monasterii sancti Vincentii,' &c.

*Vienna 68. Medicine. May come from this abbey. On fol. 1 in upper margin is the entry: 'Ego ursus offero hunc lirum (*sic*) in ecclesie sancti uincen(tii) . . .'

Sora. Oxford Bodl. Douce 127. The liturgy of the Psalter speaks for Sora.[1] Vatic. Regin. lat. 334. Benedictine processional for use of Sora.[2]

Sorrento. Exultet Roll. Now preserved at Monte Cassino. Presumably a local product.[3]

Spalato (Dalmatia). Evangeliarium with Beneventan additions.[4] *Historia Salonitana, probably the autograph of Thomas, Archdeacon of Spalato.[5] Agram, Fragmentum Psalterii.[6]

Sulmona. Vatic. lat. 1197. Verses on fol. xiii refer to Bishop Walter and to relics of S. Pelini, a local saint. The MS. came to the Vatican directly from Sulmona.[7]

Teramo. The chartulary of the church of Teramo. Nine leaves in Beneventan.[8]

Traù (Dalmatia). Evangeliarium in the cathedral library. Probably a local product.[9]

Tremiti Islands. Vatic. lat. 10657. Diplomata Abbatiae S. Mariae de Mare.[10]

[1] F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, iv. 530.

[2] H. M. Bannister, *Paleografia musicale Vaticana*, p. 126, no. 364.

[3] See above, p. 67, n. 1. Facs. in Latil, op. cit.

[4] See above, p. 65. [5] ibid. [6] See above, p. 63.

[7] Ehrensberger, *Libri liturgici bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, p. 96.

[8] Savini, *Il cartulario della chiesa Teramana* (Rome 1910) p. xii sq.

[9] See above, p. 65.

[10] Gay, in *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist.* xvii (1897) 387 sqq.

Troja. See above, p. 59. An Exultet Roll is preserved in Troja.[1] The following MSS. lay or originated there: Naples VI B 2 (historical note on fol. 1); *Naples VI B 12 (being of the 9th century it could not have originated in Troja. It lay there in the 12th century, as appears from the entry on fol. 260^{v}, see above, p. 59). The following Beneventan MSS. belonged to Aemilius Jacobus Cavalerius, bishop of Troja (died 1739): Naples VI AA 3, VI AA 4, VI B 11, VI B 13, VI D 1, VI G 34, VIII B 3, VIII B 4, VIII B 5, VIII B 6. It is at least probable that several of them were written in Troja.

Veroli. *Rome Vallicell. B 32. 'Liber capituli ecclesiae Verulanae.' Contains necrology of the monastery of S. Antonio in Veroli. On the back of several Veroli documents from the monastery of St. Erasmus I noted that the labelling of contents was in excellent Beneventan. In the Veroli catalogue of 1336 given above, p. 38, eight MSS. are described as Beneventan.

Zara (Dalmatia[2]). Berlin Theol. Quart. 278. Evangeliarium. Notes on foll. 1, 191, 191^{v} connect it with Zara. See p. 63.

*Oxford Bodl. Canon. Bibl. lat. 61. Evangel. See p. 64.

*Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277. Prayer book for the use of the nunnery of St. Mary in Zara. See p. 64.

SOME HISTORICAL EVIDENCE OF LITERARY ACTIVITY IN THE BENEVENTAN ZONE

The preceding list of MSS. has furnished some direct evidence of copying and literary activity in the various centres of the Beneventan zone. As indirect evidence of that activity the following historical notices will be found of particular interest. Since reference has been made to them in preceding pages, no special comment is necessary. The identification of the books mentioned below with extant MSS. is a subject which deserves separate and detailed discussion and cannot be attempted here.

[1] See Latil, op. cit. [2] See list of Dalmatian MSS. given on pp. 63 sqq.

Benevento [1]

Of Landulfus, monk of S. Sophia

Fuit his temporibus in hoc sacro S. Sophię monasterio uir ualde uenerabilis memorie, nomine Landulfus sacerdos et monachus per xvi fere annos inclusus, cuius cella iuncta fuit ęcclesię muro de foris, quod adhuc usque apparet in muro ecclesię.

Vir iste deo fuit plenus uigiliis et orationibus ieiuniis et helemosinis semper intentus, cuius studium inter cetera sue bonitatis ac pietatis opera in acquirendis diuinis et ecclesiasticis libris S. Sophię bibliotheca hodie testatur. Illos etenim libros quos intra beneuenti menia repperire potuit primitus conscripsit, deinde per legatos, per epistulas omnes librarios, omniaque plutealia per Italiam ancxie circuibat, et si opus esset dato pretio ad se uenire, eosque scribere faciebat.

Quid plura? Totius ueteris testamenti totiusque noui libros cum suis commentariis ubi opus erat studiosissime scripsit. Passiones quoque martirum, actus uel obitus confessorum in xi libris ordinare decreuit, ut unusquisque fere mensis per totum annum suum conuenienter haberet passionarium. Omelias denique per circuitum anni et libros quoque diurni uel nocturni cantus qui scire uoluerit inueniet quam eleganter composuerit.

Source: MS. Vatic. lat. 4955, fol. 209 verso, col. 2 (originally left blank). The entry was added by a Beneventan hand, saec. xii. It may refer to the Landulfus who is mentioned (as I learn from Dr. W. Smidt) in Borgia, *Memorie istoriche di Benevento*, ii. 299. He is perhaps wrongly described as abbot in *Anal. Bolland.* xxv. 267, n. 1.

Monte Cassino [2]

Of Abbot Bertharius (856–84)

Qui etiam apprime litteratus nonnullos tractatus atque sermones necnon et versus in sanctorum laude composuit. Cuius et Anticimenon de plurimis tam veteris quam novi Testamenti questionibus hic habetur; aliquot etiam de arte grammatica libri, necnon et duo codices medicinales, eius utique industria de innumeris remediorum utilitatibus hinc inde collecti; versus quoque perplures ad Angelbergam augustam aliosque amicos suos, mira conscripti facundia. *Chron. Casin.* i, cap. 33 (ed. Wattenbach in *M. G. H. SS.* vii. 603).

[1] See above, p. 52 sq.

[2] See above, pp. 49 sqq.

Of Abbot Aligern (949–86)

Fecit etiam crucem de argento non modicam, et textum evangelii undique contextum argento inaurato et smaltis et gemmis . . . necnon et codices plurimos . . . Apud Capuanum vero monasterium cum ornamenta ecclesiastica nonnulla, et campanas atque codices aliquot effecisset . . . *Chron. Casin.* ii, cap. 3 (ed. Wattenbach, p. 630 sq.).

Of Abbot John III (997–1010)

. . . codices quoque ecclesiasticos renovavit magnos et pulchros. *Chron. Casin.* ii, cap. 25 (ed. Wattenbach, p. 643).

Of Abbot Theobald (1022–35)

. . . Feci autem scribere in hac praedicta ecclesia ad honore S. Liberatoris, et S. Benedicti hos libros. Primis: Textum S. Evangelii ex integro eius libri Comites, et manualem unum, quas vestivi ex sericis indumentis, et desuper cruces argenteas, et gemmas, et bullas, et fibulas similiter argenteas: Passionarium unum a festivitate S. Andreae usque in S. Petri. Omilia Pascale una usque in Adventum Domini, divisa in duo volumina, Prophetarum unum, Regum unum, ystoriarum unum, Vita Patrum maiorem unum, collocutiones Patrum, collationes Patrum, et instituta eorum in duo volumina. Moralia pars prima, et secunda, et tertia, et super Eliud, super Marcum unum, Registum unum: ystoria ecclesiastica una, super Ezechiele duo. Vita S. Benedicti, et S. Mauri, et S. Scholasticae in uno volumine; Diadema Monachorum una. Cesarium unum. Epistolae Pauli unum, Actuum Apostolorum unum. Ysidorum unum. Librum S. Trinitatis unum, super epistolae S. Iohannis librum unum. Matricula una, Questionarium S. Augustini unum. Donatum unum, Hymnarium unum, Pronostica una, Prosperum unum, Concordia canonum, et alium librum Canonum, Orationale unum, Omelia de circuitu anni una, conflictu vitiorum unum, Regula una, super cantica Canticorum, inchoavimus autem Omel. quadragesimalia, Storia Anglorum, Dialogum S. Martini, Epistolae S. Hieronymi, quarterni pro defunctis, Istoria Pauli Orosii, et Medi.

. . . Scripsimus autem Thimologiam S. Ysidori, et unum quaestionarium et alia concordia canonum, et tres antifonaria de die . . .

. . . ✠ Ego Theobaldus abbas pro redemptione animae meae con-

stitui in hoc monasterio S. Liberatoris quaterni de Evangelia plenari cum Epistole S. Pauli insimul se tenentes unum ymnuarium cum oracionale, et Breviario, et unum psalterium, unum antiphonarium de die bullatum investitum de rubeo, et quaterni de passionario de computo.

Source: Commemoratorium Theobaldi abbatis a. 1019. Document supposed to be in the Archives of Monte Cassino.[1] Publ. by Gattula, *Histor. Abbatiae Cassinensis*, i (1733) 80 sq.; and *Bibl. Casin.* i, pp. lix, lxi. In 1019 Theobald was still provost of the abbey of S. Liberatore alla Majella.

In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi anno dominice incarnationis MXXIII indictione VI Anno uidelicet ordinationis sue secundo. Domnus theobaldus reuerentissimus abbas hunc librum de ciuitate dei, edito a sancto augustino episcopo in hac ecclesia sancti Benedicti ubi sacratissimum corpus eius humatum est, scribere precepit cum aliis XX . . . codicibus. Hi sunt. In primis omelia quadraginta, Pars prima moralium, Liber psalmorum exposito a sancto augustino diuiso in duo uolumina, Super epistolas sancti pauli edite a claudio episcopo, Rauanum. Librum sancte trinitatis, que deus est. Ymnaria duo in choro semper habenda, Chronica sancti eusebii cesariensis episcopi et hieronimi presbiteri et ysidori episcopi, et prosperi et iohanni Historia romanorum. Historia Langobardorum. Edictum regum. Pontificale romanorum pontificum. Liber officiorum sancti ysidori episcopi. Liber concordie kanonum et librum kanonum. Decretale pontificum. Super marcum edito a uenerabili Beda presbitero.

Source; MS. Monte Cassino 28, p. 591 sq.; publ. in *Bibl. Casin.* i, p. lxi; Tosti, *Storia della badia*, &c., i. 287; Caravita, *I codici*, &c., ii. 77 sq.; Reifferscheid, *Bibl. patr. lat. Ital.* ii. 321, 338; Becker, *Catalogi bibl. antiqui*, No. 47; Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalt. Bibliotheken*, p. 416. The same catalogue is in MS. Monte Cassino 57.

. . . Codices quoque nonnullos quorum hic maxima paupertas usque ad id temporis erat, describi praecepit; quorum nomina indicamus. Augustini de civitate Dei partem secundam. Eiusdem de Trinitate. Item eiusdem super psalmos, divisum in 2 volumina. Gregorii omelias 40. Primam partem moralium. Claudium super epistolas Pauli. Rabanum ethimologiarum. Historiam Romanorum. Historiam Langobardorum.

[1] The librarian was unable to find it when I asked to see it in April, 1912.

Itinerarium totius orbis cum chronica Ieronimi. Martyrologium Ieronimi plenarium. Pontificale Romanum. Hisidorum officiorum. Edictum legis Langobardorum. Concordiam canonum. Alium librum canonum. Decreta pontificum. Super Marcum Bedae. Duo etiam hymnaria in choro habenda. *Chron. Casin.* ii, cap. 52 (ed. Wattenbach, p. 662).

Of Abbot Desiderius (1058–87)

Non solum autem in aedificiis, verum etiam in libris describendis operam Desiderius dare permaximam studuit. Codices namque nonnullos in hoc loco describi praecepit, quorum nomina haec sunt. Augustinum contra Faustum. De opere monachorum. De Sermone Domini in monte. Omelias 50. Super epistolam ad Romanos. Sermones. Epistolas Pauli. De Genesi ad litteram. Epistolas eius. Pastorale eius. De baptismo parvulorum. Ambrosium de rebus gestis in ecclesia Mediolanensi. De Patriarchis. De fide ad Gratianum imperatorem. Sermones eius. Registrum Leonis papae. Registrum Felicis papae. Regulam Basilii. Ieronimum super Ezechielem. Super epistolas Pauli. Super duodecim prophetas. Eugepium. Sermones Severiani. Historiam Anastasii. Historiam Langobardorum, Gothorum, et Wandalorum. Historiam Iordanis episcopi de Romanis, et Gothis. Historiam Gregorii Turonensis. Iosephum de bello Iudaico. Historiam Cornelii cum Omero. Historiam Erchemperti. Bedam super Tobiam. De locis sanctis. Evangelium maiorem auro et lapidibus pretiosis ornatum, in quo has reliquias posuit: de ligno Domini, et de vestimentis sancti Iohannis evangelistae. Sermones Leonis papae. Sermones Gregorii Nazianzeni. Doctrinam patrum. Sacramentorum cum martyrologio. Sacramentorum aliud. Ordo episcopalis. Gualfridum de officiis. Super regulam. Passionaria totius anni, libros quattuor. Antiphonaria de die duo in choro semper habenda. Antiphonarium de nocte. Vitas patrum. Instituta patrum. Actus apostolorum cum epistolis canonicis, et apocalipsin. Epistolas Pauli. Paralipomenon. Super cantica canticorum Origenis, Gregorii, et Berengarii. Iohannem Crisostomum de reparatione lapsi. Dialogum, quem ipse cum Alberico diacono edidit de miraculis monachorum loci istius. Dialogum aliud. Dialogum de vita Sancti Benedicti. Hilarius mysteriorum, et hymnorum. Sedulium de evangeliis. Iuvencum de evangeliis. Medicinalis. Psalterium. Cresconium de bellis Libicis. Versus Arichis, Pauli, et Caroli. Versus Paulini. Ciceronem de natura Deorum. Instituta Iustiniani. Novellam eius. Terentium. Oratium

cum Geometria. Ovidium Fastorum. Senecam. Virgilium cum egloga Theodori. Donatum. *Chron. Casin.* iii, cap. 63 (ed. Wattenbach, p. 746 sq.); Gottlieb, op. cit., p. 416 and works there mentioned.

Ista praeterea ornamenta idem papa Victor ad mortem suam in hoc monasterio dereliquid

.

Evangelium ipsius. Evangelium imperatoris. Evangelium papae Stephani. Evangelium imperatricis. Duo evangelia fratris Firmi. Evangelium abbatis Aligerni. Duo sacramentaria cum argento. Epistolaria duo, unum cum tabula aurea, aliud cum tabulis argenteis. Regulam sancti Benedicti cum tabulis argenteis. *Chron. Casin.* iii, cap. 74 (ed. Wattenbach, p. 753).

NAPLES[1]

Of Duke John III (928–968)

Interea regnantibus Constantino et Romano[2] magnificis imperatoribus christianorum et principatum ducatus totius Campaniae dominantibus Iohanne et Marino[3] excellentibus ducibus atque consulibus, quibus quaedam necessitas accidit transmittendi missum suum usque Constantinopolim ad eosdem prefatos imperatores. Et tunc miserunt illuc Leonem archipresbiterum valde fidelem; quo pergente in eandem Constantinopolitanam urbem, coepit inquirere libros ad legendum, inter quos invenit historiam continentem certamina et victorias Alexandri regis Macedoniae. Et nullam neglegentiam vel pigritiam habendo, sine mora scripsit et secum usque Neapolim deduxit ad suos predictos excellentissimos seniores et ad praeclaram et beatissimam coniugem eius Theodoram, videlicet senatricem Romanorum, quae die noctuque sacrae scripturae meditabatur. Viduarum namque et orfanorum atque diversorum advenarum protectrix indeficiens permanebat, quae iuvenili aetate cursum vitae finiens, infra tricesimum octavum annum migravit ad Dominum. Post cuius transitum praefatus Iohannes excellentissimus consul et dux, vir eius, et Deo amabilis, statuit mente sua ordinem scripturarum inquirere, et praeclare ordinare. Primum vero

[1] See above, p. 54 sq.

[2] According to Capasso this refers to Romanus II who ruled with Constantine VII from 945 to 959. Waitz seems to favour Romanus I who ruled with the same Constantine between 919 and 944. See works cited below.

[3] Joint rulers after 942.

libros, quos in sua dominatione invenit, renovavit atque meliores effectus (*sic*), deinde anxie inquirens sicut philosophus, quoscumque audire vel habere potuit sive rogando seu precando multos et diversos libros accumulavit et diligenter scribere iussit. Maxime aecclesiasticos libros, vetus scilicet atque novum testamentum funditus renovavit atque composuit. Inter quos historiographiam videlicet vel chronographiam, Ioseppum vero et Titum Livium atque Dyonisium caelestium virtutum optimum predicatorem atque ceteros quam plurimos et diversos doctores, quos enumerare nobis longum esse videtur, instituit. Eodem namque tempore commemorans ille sagacissimus predictus consul et dux, prefatum Leonem archipresbiterum habere iam dictum librum, historiam scilicet Alexandri regis, vocavit eum ad se, et de Greco in Latinum transferri precepit, quod et factum est, sicuti sequentia docent. Omnibus vero laborantibus, tam doctoribus quam scriptoribus bonum retribuens meritum pro salute animae et memoria nominis sui.

Source: MS. Bamberg E III 14, fol. 193. Published by Waïtz in Pertz' *Archiv*, ix (1847) 692 sq.; reprinted in Capasso, *Monum. ad Neapol. ducatus histor. pertinentia*, i. 339 sq.; see also i. 111 sqq.

CHAPTER V

ORDINARY MINUSCULE IN THE BENEVENTAN ZONE

THERE can be no doubt that ordinary minuscule was written in Southern Italy. This appears clearly enough from the existence in Beneventan centres of entire MSS. written in ordinary minuscule whose contents connect them with Southern Italy; of MSS. written partly in Beneventan and partly in ordinary minuscule; and of additions in ordinary minuscule entered in Beneventan MSS. One way of explaining these phenomena would be to say, as has been said, that both scripts were at home in the South Italian centres.[1] According to this explanation a scribe of Monte Cassino, Benevento, or Bari could write books, and actually did write books, in either script. This view I find untenable, on two grounds. One is palaeographical, and of it I shall speak presently; the other is the common-sense reason of inherent improbability.

The learning of two scripts necessarily took more time and trouble than the learning of one. If, therefore, two scripts were taught side by side it must have been for some good reason. There would have been a good reason if the two

[1] Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, i. 70 sqq. What Caravita failed to see was that the MSS. in ordinary minuscule which lie in Monte Cassino need not necessarily have originated there. E. Caspar makes the assertion that both scripts had always been in use at Monte Cassino (*Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin 1909) p. 20, n. 2). The same opinion, it seems, was held by Dudík, for in describing the writing of the Lateran MSS. 78, 79, and 80, which are in ordinary minuscule, he suggested the name Cassinese, on the ground that this type of writing flourished particularly in Monte Cassino—a complete reversal of the fact. Cf. *Iter Romanum*, i. 61 sq.

scripts had been put to different uses: if, for instance, the traditional and local script, that is, the Beneventan, had been reserved for copying liturgical books, and the ordinary script for profane books; or again, if for economic reasons the simpler script had been used for ordinary books and the more elaborate and artificial one for *éditions de luxe*. But neither of these is the case. We find the Beneventan hand in books of every description: it is used for copying classics as well as for writing missals; for jotting down the first draft of a book as well as for sumptuous dedication copies. And the same is true of the ordinary minuscule. Another reason for teaching the two scripts might have been for the sake of variety. We have some Latin MSS. written partly in one script and partly in another, purely for calligraphic reasons.[1] But this practice is not found in our MSS. Besides his own minuscule the Beneventan scribe knows the capital letters and the uncials. He never indulges in another minuscule for calligraphic purposes.

If I am right in regarding as untenable the hypothesis that the two scripts were taught and practised simultaneously in South Italian centres—and the reasons I have given above are the only ones I can think of to warrant the extra expenditure of time and energy—then we must conclude that the script regularly taught in the South Italian centres was the Beneventan; for there is no other way of explaining the long duration of the Beneventan script, the stylistic uniformity of its scribal products, the great number of extant Beneventan MSS., and the disproportion which exists between these and non-Beneventan MSS. in the South Italian centres.

Perhaps on this point it will be convincing to interpolate a few figures. In the chapter library of Benevento there are to

[1] The pages of the celebrated psalter Vatic. Regin. lat. II alternate between uncials and rustic capitals. The Cava Bible is written in Visigothic minuscule, the prefaces, however, in uncials. The 9th-century MSS. of the school of Tours furnish the best examples of the use of various scripts for purely calligraphic purposes.

my knowledge forty-eight ancient MSS. Forty-one of these are in Beneventan. The remaining seven, which are not in Beneventan characters, were practically all written after Beneventan had gone out of use.[1] According to statistics furnished by the monks of Monte Cassino, 232 of their MSS. are in Beneventan letters,[2] 42 in ordinary minuscule.[3] The remaining 521 MSS. do not concern us here as being too recent. In fact the list of 42 MSS. includes not a few which are of the 13th century and even later, although saec. xii is the latest date assigned to any of them. Although no precise conclusion can be drawn from these figures, since not all the Beneventan MSS. were written at Monte Cassino—and the same is most emphatically true of the non-Beneventan [4]—still these data may fairly be taken to have some bearing upon the proportion that existed between the two scripts; especially if we consider that every MS.—saving only a few rare exceptions [5]—the contents of which clearly connect it with Monte Cassino, is written in Beneventan. In a catalogue existing in Monte Cassino of the Biblical MSS. used for the revision of the Vulgate in the 16th

[1] I refer to the MSS. Benev. Capitol. v 24, v 28, vi 32, vi 41, vii 43, vii 45, and vii 46.

[2] Piscicelli Taeggi, *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino, Longobardo-Cassinese*, introd., p. 1.

[3] Caravita, *I codici*, &c., i. 86 sq.; also pp. 18, 21, 30.

[4] An examination of the MSS. mentioned in Caravita's list will convince any one that they do not originate in one school and least of all in the abbey of Monte Cassino. This is proved not alone by the different types of writing but also by the various styles of ornamentation. The MSS. in ordinary minuscule which actually originated in Monte Cassino, e.g. the MSS. 257, 361, and 557 (the first two contain works of Petrus Diac., the last is a Bible by the scribe Ferro), show, as we should expect, the Cassinese style of decoration and the Beneventan sign of interrogation.

[5] I refer to such MSS. as Monte Cassino 257 and 361 just mentioned, which contain works of Petrus Diaconus, and Monte Cassino 202 containing the Chronica Casinensis Minor. That the latter MS. was not written by one schooled in the scriptorium of Monte Cassino is made evident by the errors which show that the scribe could not decipher the Beneventan script in which his original was written. Cf. *Bibl. Casin.* iv. 147 sq. Script and quality of parchment suggest that the MS. is not even Italian.

century, forty-three items are mentioned.[1] Of these, thirty-three are described as Lombardic, which means Beneventan, ten, as ordinary minuscule. Although the dating of the list is arbitrary and schematic, it is plain that all the oldest MSS. are Beneventan and all the more recent ones non-Beneventan. If we had statistics on the missals, breviaries, lectionaries, Rules, and other liturgical books of Monte Cassino, I think we should find, beyond a doubt, that all, or nearly all, antedating the 12th century would be in Beneventan writing.[2] Lastly, in the Veroli catalogue cited above (p. 38), of eleven items in which the script is mentioned, eight are described as Beneventan, and two as Lombardic, which is more likely than not the same as Beneventan.

The statistics just given are to my mind absolutely irreconcilable with the conclusion that the two scripts existed in South Italy on anything like a footing of equality. Had such been the case, the Beneventan, far from showing itself so indisputably the predominating script, would have been driven centuries earlier from the field, owing to the undeniable practical superiority of its rival. The conclusion we must come to is that the presence of ordinary minuscule in Beneventan centres has a different explanation.

The objections on palaeographical grounds can best be set forth by examining the MS. Monte Cassino 230—the very ex-

[1] Caravita, *I codici*, &c., i. 406 sqq.; Tosti, *Bibl. Casin.* i, p. xciii. On this catalogue see also G. Mercati, 'Due supposte spogliazioni della biblioteca di Monte Cassino,' in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Attilio Hortis* (Trieste 1910) p. 971 sq.

[2] A very instructive illustration of this fact is furnished by Monte Cassino 334 (saec. xii), containing the Rule of St. Benedict. The MS. has a different recension from that which is considered Cassinese. Inner evidence shows that it originated in the Norman monastery of Venosa. This is the simple explanation for its not being in Beneventan characters. Cf. *Regulae Sancti Benedicti traditio codicum MSS. Casinensium*, &c. (Monte Cassino 1900) G. Morin's preface, p. xix. MSS. written in Monte Cassino after the year 1300, e.g. Monte Cassino 445 and 441 (Comment. in Reg. S. Bened.), are naturally not in Beneventan, because the script had gone out of fashion by that time. Cf. Morin's preface, ibid., p. xviii.

ample which is cited in proof of the simultaneous use of both scripts in Monte Cassino.[1] I propose, therefore, to analyse the two scripts of Monte Cassino 230 and show that the differences are such as to render it quite improbable—to me impossible—that both parts were written by one scribe, as has been stated, or even by two scribes brought up in the same school. These differences between the two scripts—I refer to differences in abbreviation, in punctuation, in initial decoration, and in certain scribal rules—are regularly found in other MSS. which contain both hands contemporaneously, so that the conclusions which I am about to draw will be of general application.

An examination of one page which contains both hands will be sufficient for our purpose.[2] Putting aside the argument from the differences in the form of the letters, small and capital, in the manner of using the pen, and the way in which the fundamental *i*-stroke and *o*-stroke are made (the expert would not fail to recognize that these differences are due to two different hands), the following larger considerations must convince any one that we are confronted by two systems of calligraphy foreign to each other.

First, the *abbreviations*. We note the following differences between the Beneventan and the non-Beneventan portion:

	Benev.	non-Benev.
autem	aū	aūt
-tur		
eius		ei'
-bus	b;	b'
-mus	m;	m'
Iesus	ih̄s	ih̄c
Christus	xp̄s	xp̄c
m-stroke	3	–
abbreviation-stroke	=	–

[1] Cf. E. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, &c., p. 20, n. 2.

[2] e. g. p. 65. Cf. Piscicelli Taeggi, op. cit., pl. 53, and *Script. Benev.*, pl. 51.

Ligatures. In the Beneventan portion *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, and *ti* are invariably combined; not so in the ordinary minuscule. On the other hand, the ordinary minuscule uses the ligature & (ll. 3, 32) in the body of a word, which is not permitted in Beneventan.

i-longa. The Beneventan portion has *i*-longa regularly in *in*, *huius*, *cuius* (ll. 9, 14, 32) in accordance with a rule of the script. The non-Beneventan portion, however, has *in*, *cuius*, *iustum* (ll. 1, 2, 15), all with short *i*.

ti-distinction. The Beneventan portion distinguishes *ti* assibilated and *ti* unassibilated, e. g. *eruditione*, *sapientiam* (ll. 6, 10). No such distinction exists in the non-Beneventan part, e. g. *diligentius* (l. 41).

Punctuation. The Beneventan portion makes the full stop by means of two points and a comma, the non-Beneventan by means of one point. The Beneventan portion has the characteristic Beneventan sign of interrogation over the interrogative pronoun (*ůbi*, l. 9) and the ordinary punctuation at the end, as was the custom at the time when this MS. was written (see below, chapter ix, p. 244). The non-Beneventan portion, on the other hand, does not know the suprascript interrogation-sign, but uses a sign of interrogation after the question, a form as yet unknown in Beneventan MSS. (ll. 13, 15, &c.).

Decoration. The initials in the two parts of the MS. are absolutely different.

These differences make it clear that the mastery of each script involved not only the learning of different sets of letters, but also of different systems of abbreviation, punctuation, and scribal rules. What possible reason could there have been for the scribe to abbreviate *autem* by *au̅* when he wrote Beneventan, and by *aūt* when he wrote ordinary minuscule? Or for his making the *m*-stroke in one way in Beneventan and in another in ordinary minuscule? Why should a scribe use in the non-Beneventan portion an abbreviation of *tur* which is not used in Beneventan MSS. until fully half a century later? And so with the rest of the abbreviations. Why should he use different abbreviation-strokes in the two portions?

Again, why should a Beneventan scribe be taught the rules for *i*-longa and *ti* and then be asked to unlearn them when he wrote ordinary minuscule? And lastly, why should the same Latin sentence containing a question be punctuated on radically different principles in the two scripts?

It is evident that without an unusual expenditure of attention no scribe could have managed to keep the usage of the two scripts apart with regard to the many points just illustrated. We should, therefore, expect to find many MSS. betraying contamination of style—that is, Beneventan portions with characteristics from the ordinary minuscule, and vice versa. Now as a matter of fact the two scripts adhere as a rule quite strictly each to its own tradition.[1] We must, therefore, conclude that the ordinary minuscule in a Beneventan centre is a foreign importation, recognized and admitted as such. How did it get there?

The explanation is simple enough. Monks who had been educated in monasteries north of the Beneventan zone, who accordingly had acquired a style of writing and system of abbreviations foreign to the South Italian centres, must often have migrated, as they do now, to Monte Cassino, Cava, or Benevento, and lived there a longer or shorter period of time. The copying of books was probably the duty of every monk who was capable of performing that task. The book produced by the monk from the north was naturally written in the hand he could write, namely ordinary minuscule. Thus non-Beneventan books were made in Beneventan centres. Again, when a monk from the north collaborated with a South Italian monk, the result had this mixed character of being partly in Beneventan, and partly in ordinary minuscule. This hypothesis explains how Monte Cassino 5 has the first eighteen pages in ordinary, the

[1] Cf. above, p. 86, n. 4. It is not a mere accident that the finely written additions made by Leo Ostiensis in the MS. Munich 4623 are all in the Beneventan script. Nor is it due to mere chance that the signature of Abbot Desiderius is in Beneventan, that of Hildebrand in ordinary minuscule. Cf. Pertz' *Archiv*, v (1824) 14.

rest in Beneventan minuscule. Monte Cassino 230 of course comes under the same head, not to mention many others.[1]

What has been said of the northern monk would also be true of the monk from the south who went north and copied books. He certainly wrote his local hand.[2] We have Beneventan entries in several MSS. whose script and content mark them with certainty as Roman products. To illustrate: the Vatican MS. 378 was written in Rome in the monastery of S. Maria in Palladio, on the Palatine, which was under Cassinese jurisdiction.[3] The script is Roman minuscule. On fol. 28, at the 22nd of May we find: 'obiit domnus Leo hostiensis episcopus.'[4] It is not mere accident that the entry is in Beneventan. Leo's life was spent chiefly in Monte Cassino; when his duties as cardinal called him to Rome he lived in the modest monastery on the Palatine.[5] The record of his death in the Roman book was doubtless penned by the affectionate hand of a Cassinese *confrère*. Again, on fol. 72^{v} we read in the margin the profession of two monks, in Beneventan writing. The monk who wrote down the profession must have come to Rome from some southern home. Likewise, owing to relations between Subiaco and Monte Cassino it is not difficult to explain how certain

[1] The MS. Aberdeen King's College C^{2} 3. 63 is written partly in Beneventan and partly in ordinary minuscule. That the two kinds of writing are really contemporary may be seen from the fact that one section written in ordinary minuscule has a Beneventan rubric ('domino sancto ac uenerabili G. summo pontifici Berengarius,' &c.).

[2] The MS. Munich 15826, to which Traube called my attention, has from fol. 45 to the end strong resemblance to Beneventan writing, yet none of the script rules are followed. It is plainly a case of a South Italian trying to write ordinary minuscule. On fol. 96^{v}, l. 9 he suddenly dropped into his native script, which he continued to the end of the page.

[3] Cf. M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, 2nd ed. (Rome 1891) p. 526.

[4] Leo Ostiensis died on May 22 of the year 1115, as we know from an entry in the Calendar of Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211, fol. 6. Cf. P. Fedele in *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, no. 31 (Rome 1910) p. 21.

[5] Cf. *Bibl. Casin.* iv. 147, and P. Fedele in *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, xxvi. 371.

entries in the Subiaco Sacramentary, e.g. fol. 101, are in the South Italian hand, although the body of the MS. is in the script of Rome.[1]

Lastly it need hardly be urged that many of the MSS. in ordinary minuscule now lying in Southern Italy could easily have come there from outside—a reasonable hypothesis in view of the importance of Monte Cassino and the influence wielded by some of its abbots; many of whom travelled far and wide, received gifts, and collected books.[2] What is true of Monte Cassino must in a lesser degree have been true of smaller centres.

In the above remarks it is not intended to disregard the fact that the time came, even in Southern Italy, when ordinary minuscule was written not merely by those who had learned their writing outside the Beneventan zone. After the 12th century, as has been said, and also during that century, the ordinary minuscule may be said to assume the position of a rival which, owing to political and other circumstances, was destined to supplant the Beneventan. That the struggle was a long one may be seen from the fact that books in Beneventan letters were executed at Monte Cassino and Cava even at the very end of the 13th century.

[1] Facs. in *Archiv. Pal. Ital.* ii, plates 33–43.

[2] Frederic of Lorraine, later Stephen IX, presented Monte Cassino with some liturgical books (*Chron. Casin.* ii. 102); Agnes, mother of Henry IV, presented a volume of the Gospels (*Chron. Casin.* iii. 32); these MSS. could easily have been products of German calligraphy. The poem in honour of Abbot Desiderius which we find on the fly-leaf of Vatic. lat. 1202 has the lines:

Titulos tulit hic variorum
varia ex regione librorum.

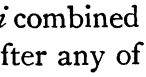
(*Neues Archiv*, x (1884) 356 sq.) Desiderius was certainly not the only one who collected books from various quarters. It should also be remembered that during his abbacy monks came to Monte Cassino from all parts of Italy.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORIGIN OF THE SCRIPT

An inquiry into the origin of the Beneventan script will be rendered more intelligible if we previously determine what features of the script may be regarded as characteristic of it. For this purpose we must study both the products of the developed script and those of the tentative period. To trace the origin, however, the earlier MSS. alone concern us; the later can only show which elements persisted.

Distinguishing features. The Beneventan peculiarities stand out best when contrasted with the Caroline. We are first struck by the letters *a* and *t*: the former made like two *c*'s touching each other, the latter with the cross-stroke bent considerably downwards to the left of the stem.

The next great difference is in the use of ligatures with 'enclitic' *i*—I refer to ligatures in which the *i* loses its normal form.[1] Whereas in the Caroline practically no ligatures with *i* are tolerated, the reverse is a fundamental rule of the Beneventan script; no independent, uncombined *i* being permissible when the preceding letter is *e*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *r*, or *t*. The scribe of Southern Italy, in so far as he was a genuine product of his region—and he may come from Monte Cassino, Cava, Capua, Benevento, Naples, or Bari—invariably wrote *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, and *ti* combined thus,  or . To write the *i* uncombined after any of these letters, as it appears in Caroline MSS., was incorrect. When a Beneventan scribe slipped and wrote an

[1] I use the term 'enclitic' to designate dependence upon the preceding letter; 'proclitic' to designate a leaning upon the following letter. See also below, p. 141.

uncombined *i* after any of these letters, I have often noticed it modified into the ligature by the hand of a corrector. In fact, so integral a part of the Beneventan script are these ligatures with *i* that they furnish after the 9th century a fair test as to whether a MS. is Beneventan or not.

The third distinguishing feature is the use of *i*-longa both initially and medially, in accordance with certain broad principles—a practice unknown in Caroline MSS.[1]

The fourth distinguishing feature is the use of the 'proclitic' ligatures with *t*, in which the *t*, leaning, as it were, upon the following letter, loses its normal form: e. g. *ta*, *te*, *ti*, *tu*, of which only *ti* (ꝯ) remains a permanent feature of the script.[2]

The home of these forms of *a* and *t*, these ligatures with *i* and *t*, and the *i*-longa usage, is not far to seek. If we examine on the one hand the famous Ravenna documents on papyrus of the 6th century, as well as Italian notarial products of the two centuries following, and on the other hand calligraphic products in uncial and semi-uncial of the same period, we shall be convinced that the peculiarities mentioned above are without exception all of cursive origin. Thus it is plain that the chief distinguishing feature of the Beneventan script is the adaptation of certain cursive elements to calligraphic purposes and their retention as essential parts of the script.

Cursive forms in early minuscule. The idea of using these elements, however, probably reached Southern Italy from the outside. This appears from an examination of a number of North Italian as well as French MSS. of the 7th and 8th centuries, which contain all these cursive elements at a time when it is not yet possible to speak of a Beneventan script; at a time when, if the hint is trustworthy which may be gathered from some extant South Italian MSS., uncial and not minuscule

[1] See below, chap. xii on Rules of the Script. On *i*-longa see E. A. Loew, *Studia Palaeographica*, pp. 7 sqq.

[2] For the form of these ligatures see below, p. 148. On the function of this form of *ti* see *Stud. Pal.*, p. 46, and below, chap. xii, pp. 302 and 305.

writing was in use in Southern Italy.[1] The greater literary activity of the northern centres had provided the impulse for the moulding of a minuscule script, whereas such favourable conditions were still lacking in the south.[2]

Lastly two great facts must be borne in mind: first, that during the second half of the 8th century the minuscule scripts of the different Italian schools were to a great extent similar—a similarity due precisely to their common possession of cursive elements; and second, that the existence of a Beneventan script becomes apparent only by contrast with those scripts which succumbed to the Caroline reform—a reform which banished from calligraphy the very elements which the Beneventan turned to calligraphic use. Thus the Beneventan is in reality nothing more than the continuation in Southern Italy of the traditional Italian school. Upon this fact modern palaeography is agreed.[3]

What the traditions of that school were can best be studied in such MSS.—to begin with the oldest examples[4]—as the Josephus on papyrus, which hardly differs from the Ravenna documents except that it is somewhat more restrained and calligraphic;[5] in the cursive yet beautiful MS. containing the homilies of Maximus (Milan Ambros. C 98 inf.);[6] in the 8th-century MSS. Vatic. lat. 5763 (Isid.), Wolfenbüttel Weissenb. 64 (Isid.), Turin A II 2 (Cyprian), all three from Bobbio;[7]

[1] Cf. London Add. MS. 5463 (Gospels), Vatic. lat. 3321 (Glossary), Vatic. lat. 5007 (Gesta Ep. Neapolit.). See above, p. 41, n. 6.

[2] Cf. Introduction, p. 4.

[3] Cf. Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhand.* ii. 24, 28, n. 1; Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*, 2nd ed., p. x; Loew, *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 12–13, 50–1.

[4] See the list in *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 39 sqq.

[5] Facs. in Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*², plates 23a, 23b. [6] Steffens, op. cit., pl. 25b.

[7] On these three palimpsests see the literature given in Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhand.* i. 233 sq., 244, and 258. A good facsimile of the secondary script of the Turin MS. in Chatelain, *Pal. des class. lat.*, pl. XXX; see also Cipolla, *Codici Bobbiesi*, plates 2, 7, 8; of the Wolfenbüttel MS. in Heinemann, *Die Hss. d. herzogl. Bibl. zu Wolfenbüttel*, part iii (1903) 295, and in Ihm, *Pal. Lat.* (Leipsic 1909) pl. VI. The upper script of these three palimpsests seems to me to point to one scriptorium. A. Holder in *Mélanges Chatelain*, p. 643, has expressed a different opinion.

in the interesting and excellently written MS. Vercelli 183 (Patristica), probably a local product, which bears the strongest resemblance to North Italian cursive;[1] in the MSS. Milan Ambros. L 99 sup. (Isid.),[2] Rome Sessor. 55 (2099) (Patristica) —and many others.

To what extent these MSS. borrowed from the cursive may be seen from the use in some of them of rare and curious forms which are found not in other MSS. but in documents of the same region and age. A most instructive example we have in the form of *ss*, freely used in North Italian documents and found in the MSS. Milan Ambros. C 98 inf., Carlsruhe Reich. 57,[3] and others; and a still better one in the form of *z* found in Vercelli 183,[4] Milan Ambros. L 99 sup., and in North Italian documents. Greater familiarity with the charter hand of different localities cannot but be of signal service to palaeography in the matter of localizing MSS.

I am aware that during the 8th century other attempts were made to form a minuscule script, even in Italy, with spare use of, or entirely without, cursive elements, by adopting in some cases the uncial letters, in others the semi-uncial. But in Italy these attempts were abortive; at least they have left us too little to make it probable that they resulted in an actual script. Outside of Italy a case in point is the Insular script, which is based upon semi-uncial and practically lacks elements from Roman cursive. It must, I believe, have exerted considerable influence in Northern Italy—it did in Bobbio—yet even in Bobbio the native Italian element was so strong as to reject the Insular in favour of its own cursive minuscule.

But it was not in Italy alone that the cursive played a large part in the formation of an early minuscule script. In the oldest French examples we are struck by the presence of the same elements.[5] I refer to such MSS. as the Avitus on papyrus

[1] Facs. in *Stud. Pal.*, pl. 1, cf. pp. 12, 27, 43; Ehrle-Liebaert, *Specimina codd. lat. Vatic.* (Bonn 1912) pl. 9. [2] Steffens, op. cit., plates 33–4.

[3] Steffens, pl. 25b; and Holder's facs. in *Mélanges Chatelain.*

[4] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, pl. 1, line 11, and pp. 26 sqq.

[5] Many of the earliest examples are enumerated in *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 30 sqq.

(Paris lat. 8913) and the more recent Gregory of Tours (Paris lat. 17655), both of which scarcely differ from documents;[1] to the MSS. Paris lat. 9427 (Lectionarium Luxoviense), Verona XL (Gregor. Moralia), Ivrea I (Gregor. Pastor. Cura), and other representatives of the Luxeuil type;[2] to the early 8th-century MSS. of the α type, e. g. Paris lat. 12168 (August.), London Add. MS. 31031 (Gregor. Moralia);[3] to the late 8th-century MSS. of the ꝛc type, such as Brussels 9850–2 (Caesarius), Paris lat. 3836 (Canones), Turin D V 3 (Passiones SS.), London Harley 3063 (In epist. Pauli)[4]—to mention only the best known.

Under the circumstances some similarity could not but exist between the early French and the early Italian minuscule. Not that the differences are not sufficient to keep them distinct. It is owing to these similarities, however, that Mabillon, in comparing the developed Beneventan with the Corbie script, did not hesitate to put them into one class.[5] The authors of the *Nouveau Traité* stop to consider the possibility that the Corbie MSS. were written in France;[6] but eventually decide in favour of their Italian origin. Even the greatest French palaeographer of the last century, in his study of the Corbie school, acquiesced in this view.[7] But later Delisle gave up this opinion; and modern palaeographers are at one as to the

[1] Facs. of Paris 8913 in *Pal. Society*, i, pl. 68; Steffens, pl. 24; of Paris 17655 in Bastard, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits*, plates 15 sq.; Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, pl. XII. 2; and *M. G. H. SS. Rer. Merov.* i, pars 1, pl. 3.

[2] Facs. of Paris 9427 in Steffens, pl. 25a; Delisle, *Cab. des manusc.*, pl. XIV. 1; of Verona XL in Sickel, *Monumenta Graphica*, iv, pl. 3; Chatelain, *Pal. des class. lat.*, plates 75 and 106; of Ivrea I in *Monum. Pal. Sacra*, pl. VIII. 1.

[3] Facs. of Paris 12168 in Bastard, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits*, plates 27–9; Silvestre, *Paléog. univ.* iii, pl. 142; of London Add. MS. 31031 in *Catal. of Ancient MSS.* ii, pl. 33.

[4] Facs. of the Brussels MS. in *New Pal. Society*, pl. 29; Steffens, pl. 29a; of Paris 3836 in *Pal. Society*, i, plates 8–9; of Turin D V 3 in *Monum. Pal. Sacra*, pl. VIII. 2; of London Harley 3063 in *Catal. of Anc. MSS.* ii, pl. 35; *New Pal. Soc.*, pl. 235; H. B. Swete, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, vol. i (Cambridge 1880).

[5] Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, p. 353, pl. V. [6] *Nouveau Traité*, iii. 273 sq.

[7] Delisle, *Cab. des manusc.* ii 122; the study first appeared in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, xxi (1860) 393–439 and 498–515; see also *Mémoires de l'Institut*, xxiv (1861) 266 sqq.

French origin of this interesting and highly developed type of writing. Although the Corbie script (ꝺ type) apparently survived the year 800[1] and was still written when beautiful Caroline MSS. were being executed in Charlemagne's 'palace school' and the scriptorium of Tours,[2] the MSS. of the Corbie school already exemplify the tendency to rid book-writing of cursive elements. That process had in fact gone so far that with the exception of the *a* and *t* and certain ligatures, few elements could properly be called cursive. The type is very developed. Those MSS. of the ꝺ type which still show the ligature *ti* represent in all probability an earlier stage of the script. And just as it is true that the Corbie MSS. of the « type have nearly all the cursive elements which we meet in Italian MSS. of the same time, it is also true that they antedate, as a rule, the MSS. of the ꝺ type, and are in their turn antedated by not a few French MSS., namely, those of the Luxeuil type, which show in their minuscule still closer relation to the cursive of the time.[3] Thus in France as in Italy the freedom with which cursive elements are employed in calligraphic writing is symptomatic of the age of the MS.

Beneventan and Visigothic compared. Of the scripts with which palaeography has tried to connect the origin of the Beneventan, the Visigothic takes the most prominent place. Traube has given the weight of his authority in favour of a relationship between the two scripts.[4] And in one of the

[1] e. g. in the MSS. St. Petersburg F. v. I, no. 11, and F. v. XIV, no. 1, dated 814–21 and 790–814, but the dating is not certain. For these details I am indebted to P. Liebaert.

[2] As can be seen from such MSS. as the Trèves Ada-Gospels, the Paris Codex Aureus (Nouv. Acq. lat. 1203) with the verses of Godesscalc, which are in minuscule, the Psalter of Charlemagne at Vienna, of which R. Beer has given us such excellent reproductions, and the Alcuin-bibles of Zürich and Bamberg, to mention only the most familiar. Facs. in Steffens, plates 45a, 45b, and 46; R. Beer, *Monum. Pal. Vindobonensia* (Leipsic 1910) i, plates 17 sqq.

[3] Examples of these types have been given above.

[4] Traube, op. cit. ii. 21, 131; and *Nomina Sacra*, p. 245.

two studies on the Beneventan writing which exist in palaeographical literature a serious attempt is made to prove the preponderance of Spanish influence in the formation of the South Italian minuscule.[1] The question is of great interest and deserves detailed discussion.

That there is a strong resemblance between the minuscule writing of Spain and Southern Italy is a fact with which palaeographers are familiar.[2] The similarity in appearance is indeed such as to have proved a stumbling-block to no less an authority than Wattenbach, who cited the famous Danila Bible of Cava, written in pure and excellent Visigothic, as an example of Lombardic, that is to say, of Beneventan penmanship.[3] A century earlier Bianchini was responsible for the false notion, accepted by Trombelli and later by Arevalo, that the Beneventan MSS. of the Oratorians in Rome (they now form part of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana) were Visigothic[4]— a mistake again caused in all probability by the resemblance between the two scripts. The resemblance is not a mere impression. Indeed, upon analysis it will be found that the Spanish script contains regularly three, often even four, of the five features which we have set down above as Beneventan characteristics. These are: the form of the letters *a* and *t*; the use of *i*-longa; and the proclitic ligatures with *t*, in which that letter loses its normal form. And here the resemblance ceases.

The proper explanation of these similarities lies, doubtless, in the fact that both scripts base upon cursive writing. That the similarities are not due to direct dependence of Beneventan on Visigothic will clearly appear from the differences between

[1] N. Rodolico, 'Genesi e svolgimento della scrittura Longobardo-Cassinese,' in *Archiv. Stor. Ital.* xxvii (1901) 315 sqq.

[2] For facs. of Visigothic MSS. see Ewald and Loewe, *Exempla Scripturae Visigothicae* (Heidelberg 1883). Many others will be found cited in *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 56 sqq. For Beneventan MSS. see Piscicelli Taeggi, *Paleog. artistica di Montecassino*; and *Script. Benev.*, plates 7–100.

[3] Wattenbach, *Anleit. zur lat. Pal.* (3rd ed.) p. 15. See above, p. 28, n. 1a.

[4] See above, p. 29, n. 2.

the two scripts which I here set down. I begin with the graphic differences.

Ligatures. The Beneventan, as we have seen, makes invariable use of the ligatures with enclitic *i*, the Visigothic avoids them—a difference of first importance. In Visigothic writing there are no combined *ei, fi, gi, li, ri,* and *ti* in which the *i* loses its normal form (the Spanish use of combined *ti*, dating as it does from a time when Beneventan was already formed, does not come into consideration here). The Beneventan makes regular use of the *ti* ligature in which the *t* is proclitic; Spanish calligraphy practically avoids it. On the other hand, the Spanish scribe employs the proclitic ligature *te*, which the Beneventan avoids as a rule. The Beneventan has ligatures with *s*—viz. *sp, st, sx*—not found in the Spanish. On the other hand, the Visigothic has ligatures which the Beneventan lacks, e.g. *it*, in which the stem of the *t* coincides with the *i*, forming a single long shaft with the cross-beam of the *t* atop, a feature peculiar to Visigothic; *at, nt, rt,* &c., in which the *t* is enclitic, losing its normal form and resembling rather small *c*; and *os*, which is a remnant from the uncial. Finally, the Spanish makes use of superior *a*, which connects with the following letter; the Beneventan lacks it, on the other hand making occasional use of subscript *i*, in which the letter is joined to the preceding one, a practice unknown to the Spanish.

Single letters. The most striking difference is in the letter *g*, the Spanish using the uncial form, the Beneventan the common minuscule one. The letter *e* has its upper loop closed in Beneventan, usually open in Visigothic. It would be easy to mention other letters, e.g. *r* and *s*, which do not go below the line in Visigothic; *m* and *n*, whose final strokes—I refer to the oldest MSS.—do not bend and turn outward, as they do even in the earliest Beneventan, as well as in pre-Caroline Corbie MSS. Beneventan *c* has often the broken form resembling Greek *epsilon*, not so the Visigothic. Lastly, the letters *a* and *t*, which have been given as points of similarity, like as they are when contrasted with the Caroline,

might justly be cited as points of difference between Beneventan and Visigothic. Spanish *a* resembles *u*, differing from it only in ending with a curved stroke turned outward, whereas the *u* has a straight line ending abruptly. Beneventan *a* resembles two contiguous *c*'s. As for *t*, in early Visigothic the left loop bends so low as to touch the line; in Beneventan it is very often open and rarely descends so low.

Abbreviations. In its system of abbreviations the Beneventan is radically unlike the Spanish, but manifestly akin to the North Italian and French systems. The Spanish method of forming contractions consists mainly in omitting the vowels, the Beneventan in omitting some part in the middle. So the Spanish abbreviates *apostoli, misericordia* by means of apsc̄li, mc̄dia, the Beneventan by means of ap̄li, mīa. The contrast between the two systems can be seen from the following list of normalized forms current in the 9th century.[1]

	Visig.	Benev.	N. Ital. and French
apostolus -i	apsc̄ls -i	ap̄ls -i	ap̄ls -i
autem	aūm	au̅	au̅ aūt
bis	b̓	b̵	b̵
bus and *que*	b᷑ q᷑ b̓ q᷑	b; q; b᷑ q᷑	b; b̵ q• q; q̓
est	written out as a rule	÷ and ē	÷ ē
noster -ri	nr̄ nr̄i	n̄r nr̄i	n̄r nr̄i
per	ꝑ	ꝑ	ꝑ
prae	rarely abbrev.	p̄	p̄
pro	rarely abbrev.	ꝓ	ꝓ
qui	q̓ (like Benev. *quod*)	q̓	q̓
tum	ct	written out as a rule	written out as a rule
tur	written out as a rule	c̄t or c̓t	t᷑ or t̓
uester -ri	ur̄ ur̄i	ūr ur̄i	ūr ur̄i

[1] The list could easily be enlarged; but to avoid confusion the rarer forms have been omitted.

None of the Spanish peculiarities has been imitated in Beneventan MSS. Of a few stray instances I shall speak below. I have never met with the Spanish abbreviation of *noster*, *uester*, *per*, *bis*, *bus* or *que*, *mum*, *num*, or *tum*. *Q̄nm* is found occasionally in Beneventan, but that need not argue Visigothic influence, as its use was widespread. Ordinary abbreviation of *prae* is found in the earliest South Italian minuscule, likewise of *pro*. Neither of these is normally abbreviated in Visigothic.

m-stroke and omitted n. In the earliest Beneventan the usual *m*-stroke is the same as the abbreviation-stroke—a horizontal line or flourish, made in various ways (see chapter on abbreviations, below, p. 171 sq.). In Visigothic it is as a rule the line surmounted by the point. To mark the omission of *n* with a line, or line and point, above the vowel that precedes it is a standing feature of Visigothic, but the omission is rare in early Beneventan.

Orthography. Spanish MSS. show frequent use of *qu* for *c*; such a spelling, however, is rarely found in Beneventan MSS. The confusion of *h* and *c* (e. g. *nicil*, *mici*) is typical of Spanish, and peculiar to it; I have never encountered this in Beneventan MSS., where on the contrary the spelling *nichil*, *michi* is very frequent. Spanish MSS. very often insert *h* where it does not belong, and in other cases omit it, e. g. *hab* for *ab*, *abet* for *habet*—an irregularity of far less frequent occurrence in Beneventan.

Punctuation. The two systems are dissimilar. Early Visigothic MSS. have for the main pause the point with a tiny comma placed obliquely above it (.'); for shorter stops the point. In the earliest Beneventan MSS. there is indecision and vacillation between the point followed by a comma, the semicolon, the comma and the full point, all these to indicate the main pause. Amid all this variety it will be seen that the Visigothic form does not appear. In the late 9th century we find the comma between two points (.,.) and the comma below two points (•,•), which latter becomes the typical Beneventan full stop—a system in use in a great many Continental MSS. of the

9th century but not in Visigothic. For shorter stops the point or comma is usual at first; toward the end of the 9th century the point with the hook above it—that is, the semicolon both inverted and reversed (⁀).

There is also dissimilarity with regard to the interrogation-sign. The Visigothic, like all Continental scripts, uses it at the end of the sentence, the Beneventan, in its first stage, only at the beginning. Although this dissimilarity does not bear directly on the question of first influences, it is important as showing that as early as at the end of the 9th century the Beneventan was so independent of foreign usage in this respect as to adopt a system of its own invention. The feature which for a time at least the Spanish and the Beneventan have in common, namely that of differentiating nominal and predicate questions, is hardly due to borrowing of one from the other, as is shown below (see chapter ix, p. 252 sq.).

Lastly there is this vital difference between the early Beneventan MSS. and contemporary Spanish MSS.: the former generally make a graphic distinction between *ti* assibilated and *ti* unassibilated,[1] the latter introduce this practice toward the end of the 9th century.[2]

Colophons and titles. Another feature differentiating the two scripts is the type of letter used for title and colophon. The Beneventan uses as a rule the unfilled uncial for *explicit*, &c.; and in the developed script often simple red minuscule or a variety of square capitals or uncials; whereas the Visigothic employs either rustic capitals or a fanciful, strangely elongated type found only in its own MSS.

Ornamentation. The ornamentation of the two schools is strikingly dissimilar. In Visigothic the treatment of the human figure is awkward, stiff, and schematic, in these respects recalling rather the Insular type. The Beneventan, on the other hand, never utterly loses the heritage of its classic soil. And the foreign influence observable is Byzantine. The con-

[1] See below, p. 305.

[2] See *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 46 sq., 52 sqq.

tinuous development of its figure art from the 9th to the 12th century produces results which may justly be considered harbingers of the Renaissance; this at a time when in Spain one still encounters childish conceptions of the human form.[1] More telling is the difference in the initials, since proportionately few MSS. boast of figure decoration. Visigothic initials show patterns and colour combinations both different from those of the Beneventan and inferior to them. From my observation of Visigothic initials, the interlaced patterns and fantastic animals present none of the grace, intricacy, and variety of colour and fancy which characterize the Beneventan; and they lack one of the essential elements of Beneventan ornamentation, the pearl motive.

In view of the various and important differences just noted, we are justified in concluding that the similarities are merely due to the common origin of the two scripts. For it is a commonplace of palaeography that the Visigothic and Beneventan systems of calligraphy both base upon the Roman cursive of the early Middle Ages.

Refutation of arguments in favour of Visigothic influence

We are now ready to examine the arguments advanced by N. Rodolico in favour of Spanish influence, in the monograph referred to above on the 'origin and development of the Lombard-Cassinese script'.

The author begins[2] by citing a letter written between 616 and 620 by the Visigothic king Sisebut to Adaloald, son of Queen Theodolinda, in which reference is made to some books sent to the Lombard prince to bring about his conversion.[3] It is hard to understand how the books received by the prince make for any relationship between Spain and Southern Italy.

[1] Compare for instance the figures in Visigothic MSS. of Beatus super Apocal. with those found in Beneventan Exultet rolls. The London Roll (Add. MS. 30337, facs. in *Pal. Soc.* i, pl. 146) is a masterpiece of South Italian art, the like of which Spanish MSS. have nothing to show.

[2] See pp. 320 sqq. of the article cited above, p. 99, n. 1.

[3] *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epp.* iii. 671.

For in the first place the historical notice tells us only of books sent to Northern Italy—which is far from saying that they ever reached Southern Italy. And if we grant that they did, how could they have had any effect upon the formation of a South Italian minuscule? What proofs have we of the existence of a Spanish minuscule in the early 7th century? I fear none. As the Spanish books were most likely uncial, possibly semi-uncial, Southern Italy, possessing both, had nothing to learn from them.

Rodolico next points out that in liturgical MSS. in Beneventan characters of the 11th century the *Te Deum* was known as *Hymnus Sisebuti*. This attribution he explains by saying that the Lombards had received the *Te Deum* from the Spanish king and that the Benedictines of Southern Italy had not questioned the authorship which they found to be a tradition of the Lombards. If this were the true explanation we should expect Beneventan liturgical MSS. to agree on this point. This, however, is far from being the case. There is disagreement even in MSS. of precisely the same time and place. The facts are put together by Dom Cagin in his extensive study of the *Te Deum*.[1] His examination of 120 titles under which the *Te Deum* appears in MSS. shows that the name Sisebut is found only in seven, of which two occur in extant Beneventan MSS.,[2] the majority occurring in MSS. of the vicinity of Rome; so that the tradition—if tradition it be—existed rather in the Sabine district than in Southern Italy. The two Beneventan MSS. which have the name Sisebut in the title are Paris Mazar. 364 (Breviar.) and Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585 (Diurnale), both written in Monte Cassino between 1099 and 1105. The title in the Paris MS. reads: *Hymnus Sisebuti monachi*; in the Vatican MS.: *Hymnus Sisebuti regis*. The natural explanation is that we are dealing with a pure con-

[1] P. Cagin, *Te Deum ou Illatio?* (1906) pp. 177, 183–5. Dom Wilmart kindly called my attention to this work.

[2] I have noted one other case. Monte Cassino 559, fol. 71^{v} has 'Ym. Sisebuti Mon(achi)'.

jecture. This becomes clear in the light of the circumstantial note regarding the authorship of the *Te Deum* which Dom Cagin discovered in two MSS. (one from Subiaco, the other from Farfa). Part of the passage runs thus: 'non desunt qui huiusmodi laudes a quodam Sisebuto compositas narrant.' If Lombard tradition connected the *Te Deum* with the Spanish king, it would be difficult to account for its attribution in MSS. to an unknown Sisebut or to a humble monk. If, on the other hand, a tradition existed attributing the work to an unknown Sisebut, any learned scribe might easily make the conjecture and attribute the work to a known Sisebut. But the uncertainty of the South Italian tradition is further seen from the fact that another liturgical MS. in Beneventan characters—I refer to Vatic. lat. 4928, written at the beginning of the 12th century (c. a. 1113) for the use of the Benedictine monastery of S. Sophia of Benevento, which had close relations with Monte Cassino—attributes the *Te Deum* to quite a different person, namely to an unknown St. Abundius. Under these circumstances the attribution of the *Te Deum* to King Sisebut, which occurs in a single, relatively recent Beneventan MS., can scarcely be regarded as evidence of relations between Spain and Southern Italy.

More important evidence in support of his contention Rodolico discovers in the existence of Visigothic MSS. in Southern Italy, which he compares with the existence of Irish MSS. in Bobbio. This indeed would be crushing evidence, if in Monte Cassino and Cava, where the Visigothic MSS. lie, traces of Spanish influence could be found as patent and undeniable as those of Irish influence observable in the early products of Bobbio. Rodolico is of opinion that such traces exist; and we shall later examine the MSS. themselves for evidence in support of his view. Let us, however, first investigate the parallel he has drawn. What are the historical facts?

The monastery of Bobbio is known to have been founded in 612 by the Irishman St. Columban. It preserved MSS. in

the Irish hand which were either brought thither by the Irish monks or written by them on the spot.[1] Monks of succeeding generations, as we can see from extant MSS., now and then either directly imitate the Irish script or borrow features which can be traced to it only: a striking example is the system of abbreviations practised in Bobbio during the 8th century.[2] Lastly—and this is of cardinal importance—the number of Irish MSS. which have come down to us from the monastery of Bobbio itself is not so small as to be negligible.[3]

How does the case stand between Spain and Southern Italy? In the first place there are no religious settlements by Spaniards, in fact it is difficult to name any historical personage who visited Southern Italy from Spain during the period which concerns us.[4] As for the number of Visigothic MSS. in Southern Italy, only three are known; two of which are in Monte Cassino: Monte Cassino 4 (Ambrosius), and Monte Cassino 19 (Augustine), both of the early 9th century;

[1] See C. Cipolla, *Codici Bobbiesi della Biblioteca nazionale universitaria di Torino* (Milan 1907).

[2] See W. M. Lindsay, *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (St. Andrews University Publications, no. vi, Oxford 1910) pp. 1, 30 sqq.; also 'The Bobbio Scriptorium: its early minuscule abbreviations' in *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, xxvi (1909) 293 sqq. Steffens in *Mélanges Chatelain*, pp. 244 sqq.

[3] e. g. the MSS. Milan Ambros. c 5 inf. (Bangor Antiphonary), F 60 sup., C 301 inf., Vienna 16 + Naples IV A 8, Turin A II 2*, F IV 1, O IV 20. Some Irish MSS. were destroyed in the Turin fire of 1904. For facs. see Cipolla, op. cit.

[4] There is one exception. In the Vita Willibaldi (*Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* xv, pars i, p. 102) we read of a Spanish presbyter, Diapertus, living at Monte Cassino, and of his journeying to Rome in 739 in the company of an English monk Willibald (Mabillon, *Annales Ord. S. Bened.* ii, lib. xx, § 78, and lib. xxi, § 48). Cassinese tradition knows apparently nothing of the Spanish visitor. If it is fair to urge his presence as evidence of Visigothic influence, we shall have to bear in mind that during the same century there were visitors from England (Willibald), from Germany (Sturmius), and from France (Adalhard). This much, however, is beyond dispute: the Spanish MSS. found in South Italy are not connected with Diapertus, since they are of the 9th century. And another significant fact is this: the earliest Monte Cassino MSS. of Isidore's *Etymologies*, Paris lat. 7530 and Cava 2, belong to the same class as the North Italian and not as the Spanish or French MSS. (cf. Lindsay, *Isidori Hisp. ep. Etymol. sive Orig. libri xx* (Oxford 1911) p. x).

and one in Cava, of the end of the 9th century, the famous Danila Bible.[1] In fact, in all the rest of Italy—disregarding a few fragments and marginalia [2]—only three are known to me, and I doubt whether many others exist: one in Rome, of the 12th century (Rome Corsini 369, Beatus super Apocal.), one in Florence, of the 10th century (Flor. Laurent. Ashburnh. 17, Ildefonsus), and one in Verona, of the 8th or 9th century (Verona LXXXIX, Orationale Mozarabicum).[3] The Roman and Florentine MSS. need not detain us, as being too recent. Just as we do not know how the Orationale Mozarabicum got to Verona, we do not know how the other three MSS. got to Southern Italy. The MS. in Cava, one of the best specimens of Visigothic penmanship and ornamentation, reached that place at the earliest more than a century after it was written, as Cava was not founded before the year 1011. There is not a trace to show that it was in Italy at an early time. It may have reached Cava when that monastery was at the height of its power. We do not know.[4] What is of moment to us is the fact that the MS., as Amelli has pointed out and as the script shows, was written in the second half of the 9th century.[5] By that time the Beneventan script may be said to have been quite decided upon the course it was to follow.

[1] Cf. *Bibl. Casin.* i. 97, 233; *Cod. Dipl. Cavens.* i, Manoscritti membranacei, p. i; A. Amelli, *De libri Baruch vetustissima latina versione*, &c. (Monte Cassino 1902) pp. 7 and 14; E. A. Loew, *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 58, 59, 62, and pl. 3. Facs. of Cava Bible in Silvestre, *Pal. univ.* iii, pl. 141.

[2] e.g. Vercelli 158 (marginalia *passim* and a bigger addition, fol. 208), Vatic. Regin. lat. 708 (only first four folios), and Regin. lat. 267 (marginalia). Knowledge of the last two I owe to P. Liebaert. Here one ought perhaps to add Lucca 490, for one of the hands makes a very decided Visigothic impression.

[3] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 56, 71, 76, and pl. 7. See also Férotin, *Monum. eccl. liturgica*, vi = *Le liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* (Paris 1912) plates 1–3.

[4] One conjecture is that it was presented to Cava in 1035 by Prince Waimar of Salerno. Cf. Guillaume, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cava*, p. 21. It is a curious fact that Mabillon does not mention the Bible as one of the treasures of the abbey (*Museum Italicum*, I, pars i. 116 sqq.).

[5] See above, n. 1.

As for the two MSS. in Monte Cassino, it is certain that they were in Southern Italy as early as the 11th century. This appears from the transcription by a Beneventan hand of the 11th century of marginalia written in Visigothic cursive, and from corrections of letters and punctuation.[1] But we seek in vain in the pages of the Cassinese chronicles or other South Italian records for persons or events with which to connect the arrival of these MSS. in Italy.[2] It may even be argued that the absence of any Beneventan writing in them, prior to the end of the 11th century, suggests, though the point is far from proved, that they were not read or used before that time, and perhaps did not come much before then to Monte Cassino.

In short, the existence of three Spanish MSS. in Southern Italy is a circumstance which can in no wise be put on a par with the existence of Insular MSS. in Bobbio. Considering their small number and our inability to connect them with South Italian history of the 8th and 9th centuries, their presence is by itself insufficient evidence upon which to base an argument proving vital relations.

Now to return to the palaeographical evidence. Rodolico adduces in support of his theory two graphic features which are according to him of Spanish derivation: the Beneventan sign of interrogation and the abbreviation-stroke formed by a line surmounted by a point.

The statement referring to the interrogation-sign involves three misapprehensions. In the discussion of the interrogation-sign found on pp. 251 sqq. sufficient data are brought forward to show: (1) that the interrogation-sign at the beginning of the sentence is peculiar not to the Visigothic but to the Beneventan script—which makes it impossible to speak of the

[1] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, pl. 3.

[2] It is not at all impossible that the MSS. got to Italy through the Saracens. The two MSS. in Monte Cassino have Arabic annotations. I believe the Cava Bible also has them. If they came to Italy in the 11th century they may be gifts made by the Normans, who got them from Saracen scholars of their court. But these are pure conjectures.

Beneventan custom as derived from the Visigothic; (2) that the statement that in Beneventan the sign precedes and does not follow the sentence is true of only one stage of the script; and (3) that the modern use of the initial interrogation-sign in Spain, far from being a continuation of a Visigothic tradition, is merely an academic innovation of the 18th century.[1]

The use of the line surmounted by the point to denote the abbreviation-sign is to be sure a feature of Visigothic MSS. But if we are to use this fact as an argument in favour of Visigothic influence, it must first be shown that such an abbreviation-stroke was confined to Visigothic MSS., and secondly that it is a common feature of the earliest Beneventan MSS. What are the facts? The line surmounted by the point was used to denote *m* and later other abbreviations in several Italian and Continental uncial MSS. long before Beneventan was in existence.[2] It is not at all infrequent in early minuscule of non-Visigothic origin.[3] This form of the stroke is, therefore, far from surely of Visigothic origin. If its use in Italian MSS. of the 8th century and earlier can be attested, there is no need to explain its occurrence in some 9th-century Beneventan MSS. by having recourse to Visigothic models.

To imagine Visigothic influence behind every case of this type of abbreviation-stroke is like explaining every case of *quur* or *q̄m*—which to be sure are features of Spanish MSS.—

[1] The Visigothic MS. Monte Cassino 4 has here and there the interrogation-sign at the beginning (pp. 23, 89), but it is invariably the addition of a Beneventan hand of the 11th century, the same probably which transcribed the Visigothic cursive. Rodolico may have taken the addition for the original hand.

[2] e.g. Vatic. Regin. lat. 316, s. vii/viii; St. Petersburg F. v. I, no. 2, and O. v. I, no. 2, s. viii; Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1597, s. viii; London Add. MS. 5463, s. viii; Rome Vallicell. B 25 [2], s. viii; Vatic. lat. 5007, s. viii/ix, the last three being products of Southern Italy, the others of France.

[3] e.g. Ivrea 1, s. vii/viii (Luxeuil type); London Add. MS. 31031, s. viii (« type); Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1619, s. viii; Paris lat. 3836, foll. 101–4 (the Caroline hand); St. Gall 185, s. ix in.; Cheltenham 12261, s. viii (Italian); Lucca 490, s. viii ex. (probably written in Lucca)—to cite only a few cases.

by assuming Visigothic originals. But *quur* and *qm̄* are by no means restricted to Spanish MSS., and the same may be said of the line and dot. But even if we grant that some of the Beneventan cases are due to copying from a Visigothic original,[1] it is unreasonable to attach undue importance to this, in view of the absence of this feature from the earliest minuscule products of Monte Cassino—admittedly the chief scriptorium of South Italy. How many instances of this usage can be shown in early Beneventan? Only a very few. Here and there the line and dot occur (besides the usual abbreviation-stroke) in the MSS. Benevento 1119 (Autpertus), Vatic. lat. 3320 (Glossarium), Vatic. lat. 3313 (Ars Prisciani), Vatic. lat. 7814 (Gregor. Dial.), and Monte Cassino 187 (Iuliani Tolet. Anticimenon). The last is the only MS. mentioned by Rodolico. According to him this form of the abbreviation-stroke is here used for *m*. I have found no instances. And when he says that by extension it is also used to denote any abbreviation, he is giving a wrong impression. In the entire MS. the scribes use the ordinary abbreviation-stroke of the time. It is decidedly the exception when we find on page 6, l. 2, *dominus*, and on page 17, *domini nostri iesu christi*, abbreviated with the line and point. It seems noteworthy that this form of the stroke occurs only with 'Nomina Sacra', as I have seen it in uncial MSS., and that too only at the beginning of the MS.[2] It will be admitted that the force of an argument based upon a few sporadic instances in a single MS. amounts to little in comparison with the fact that over twenty of the earliest Beneventan MSS., most of which, lying outside of

[1] This may be the case with Vatic. lat. 3320, for I found aūm for *autem* and sr̄hl for *Israhel*. I doubt, however, whether this is also true of Monte Cassino 187, despite the fact that it contains a Spanish author.

[2] An 11th-century corrector often placed a dot over certain abbreviations in the text. The dot was his mark of reference to the modern form of the abbreviation which he put in the margin. See facs. in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 21. It is possible that Rodolico took the dot to be by the first hand. There can, however, be no doubt as to its being an addition, except on pp. 2, 6, and 17 mentioned above.

Monte Cassino, were not examined by Rodolico, have no examples of such a usage.

Another instance of Visigothic influence Rodolico finds in the use during the Theobaldan period (1022–35) of the line surmounted by two points. For this one would like references. In forty-seven Spanish MSS. and in the facsimiles of over a hundred I have hardly ever encountered this feature. As for the usage of the Theobaldan MSS. it corresponds more nearly to the facts to say that the ordinary abbreviation-stroke is the rule; that some scribes affect two parallel lines or even three; that occasionally the horizontal line is surmounted by a comma, or even by two, or by one point. I have rarely met with the line and two points, my only example being Monte Cassino 5 a. 1011–22.

Quite another matter is the question whether the group of MSS. of the Bari type (see below, p. 150 sq.) owe their frequent use of the line and point to Visigothic influence. It seems to me highly improbable. But, as they all belong to the period of the developed script, they also fall without the limits of the present discussion.

Rodolico finds in the fact that the oldest minuscule MS. in Monte Cassino contains the work of Isidore a further hint that the monks of Monte Cassino drew largely from the Spanish during the tentative period of their script. But when we consider that the popularity of Isidore was second to no other author during the two or three centuries following his death—as can be seen from the large number of Isidore MSS. written prior to the 9th century—it does not surprise us that an 8th-century copy should be in existence at Monte Cassino.[1] In Northern Italy, it appears, Isidore was already used at the beginning of the 7th century. The *Continuator Prosperi* seems to have used him before 625.[2] Why, one may ask, should

[1] Besides Isidore, Monte Cassino possesses MSS. of Iulianus Toletanus and Ildefonsus.

[2] Cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i. 92 (7th ed.), and Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, x. 380.

Isidore not be copied in Southern Italy one hundred and twenty-five years later?

All the above-mentioned points are to Rodolico links in a chain which connects the Beneventan with the Visigothic script. To what extent the connexion is established by the arguments advanced must have appeared from the examination to which they have just been submitted. But if it were true that the Beneventan drew largely from the Visigothic during its tentative period, the fact would appear not so much from political and ecclesiastical relations; not from the presence of three early Spanish MSS. in Southern Italy; not from the authorship of Isidore in one of the earliest examples of South Italian minuscule; nor again, from a few sporadic instances of a sign whose Visigothic origin is problematical; nor, in fact, so much from all these put together, as from the graphic features and abbreviations common to the two scripts. The crucial test must lie therein. If it could be proved that the points of similarity between Beneventan and Visigothic which are enumerated above existed only between these two scripts and no others, then—inasmuch as the Spanish minuscule was formed before the Beneventan—there would be no doubt that the Beneventan derived those features from the Visigothic. If, on the other hand, other scripts, practised in centres much nearer to Southern Italy, relations with which are fully established, are shown to have the same points of similarity, it will be rash to explain those similarities as due to the more distant centre. If it can further be shown that those other Italian and transalpine schools wrote a minuscule which has even more points of similarity with the Beneventan than the Spanish has, it will be impossible not to grant the conclusion to which the facts lead. What that conclusion is we have already summed up by saying that the Beneventan is but the continuation of earlier Italian traditions. We have also seen that those traditions consisted chiefly in the adaptation of cursive features to calligraphic purposes.

Beneventan more akin to other pre-Caroline types. In order to demonstrate the Italian origin of our script it would suffice merely to point out the indisputable resemblance between notarial and calligraphic products, that is, between documents and manuscripts, of the same locality. But a comparison with other early minuscule will be more instructive, as it will call attention to the fact that closer relations existed between Beneventan and early North Italian, or even French calligraphy, than between Beneventan and Visigothic. There are many North Italian MSS., products of Bobbio, Vercelli, Novara, and Nonantola, which show all or nearly all the features which became Beneventan characteristics.[1] Some of these MSS. have in fact been mistaken for Beneventan[2]—such is the similarity between the North and South Italian products of the 9th century. An examination of a few details will make this clearer. We shall compare the Beneventan peculiarities with the corresponding features in North Italian, French, and Visigothic minuscules.

As points of similarity between Beneventan and Visigothic we have given the letters *a* and *t*, the use of *i*-longa and of the proclitic ligatures with *t*. The form of early Beneventan *a*, resembling two contiguous *c*'s, is much nearer to the forms found in Italian cursive, in early Italian minuscule, and in many French pre-Caroline MSS. than it is to the Visigothic, whose *u*-like form it never imitates.

The form of *t* in early Beneventan, with its partly open and only partially descending left loop, bears far more resemblance to Italian and French pre-Caroline models than to the entirely closed form of the Visigothic. It is only in later Beneventan,

[1] Most of these MSS. are enumerated in *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 39–45.

[2] To cite a few examples: the Bamberg MS. B III 30, to my mind a true specimen of the Nonantola school, has been called Beneventan by Traube, *Pal. Forschungen*, iv (1904) 8. Again the Nonantola MSS. Rome Sessor. 40 (1258), 41 (1479), and 63 (2102) have been described as Beneventan by A. Poncelet, *Anal. Bolland.*, Appendix, xxv (1906) 105, 106, 111. The North Italian (Bobbio?) MS. Milan Ambros. B 31 sup. is put in the same class as the Beneventan by Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*[2], pl. 68.

the fully developed script, that the *t* is closed, and even then not always (cf. p. 139). But this, being in the later period, does not concern us here.

Of the proclitic ligatures with *t*, the form of *te* in Beneventan resembles the other scripts more than the Visigothic, owing to the greater similarity of Beneventan *e* to the *e* of those schools, especially the French. In three respects, therefore, where similarity exists between Beneventan and Visigothic, greater similarity exists between Beneventan and the other schools.

The fourth point of similarity is the usage with regard to *i*-longa. A peculiar interest attaches to this feature, owing to the fact that it is only in the Beneventan and Visigothic that it continues to be a regular element as long as the two scripts last. This would certainly seem a significant fact, arguing close relationship. But, as has been shown elsewhere, the invariable use of *i*-longa initially and medially to denote the semi-vocal sound is of cursive origin, and native to Italy.[1] If its use can be testified for Spain at the beginning of the 8th century, it can be testified for Italy by examples even older. It is also found in French MSS. of the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century (Luxeuil type). As there can be no question of the part which cursive elements played in the formation of the various types of pre-Caroline minuscule, Visigothic included, it is evident that the use of *i*-longa in these scripts is due to one and the same source.

In this connexion it is convenient to treat of another feature, which like *i*-longa is peculiar only to Beneventan and Visigothic, and forms a permanent and integral part of their developed scripts. I refer to the practice of making the distinction between assibilated and unassibilated *ti*. Here again appearances are all for close relationship. But the facts plainly show the contrary—or, if dependence can be suspected, it will be of the Spanish upon the Italian schools, instead of vice

[1] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 10 sqq.

versa. For in the oldest Spanish MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries, as has been shown, the *ti*-distinction is not made.[1] It is only the later MSS. that practise the distinction. In the Beneventan, however, evidence exists proving the conscious observance of the distinction as early as the end of the 8th century. It is true that in Spanish cursive the distinction may be practised even earlier than the close of the 8th century. Much earlier it cannot be, for the cursive additions of Autun 27, which hardly antedate the middle of the century, make no distinction. But this is important: the form of assibilated *ti* in early Spanish cursive is the form which all Italian notaries reserve for soft *ti*. It is plain that the Italians are not imitating the Spanish notaries. The opposite is not only more likely, but is practically proved by this circumstance: the Beneventan scribe denotes assibilated *ti* by the form he took over from cursive (ꝯ). The Visigothic scribe, on the other hand, rejects the form thus used in his cursive, and invents an absolutely foreign form, strangely enough the very form which in the Beneventan is used for unassibilated *ti*. In Spanish calligraphy, as has been said, the practice becomes general a full century later than in Italy. If, in so important a matter, the South Italian school thus shows a lead of more than a hundred years, it manifests thereby a self-reliance and independence which should be taken into account in forming a judgement upon its origin and possible models.

If a doubt is cast upon the plausibility of direct Spanish influence by the circumstance that the resemblances existing between Beneventan and Visigothic have also been established between Beneventan and other scripts, that doubt inclines to positive disbelief when it can be shown that points wherein the Beneventan differs from the Visigothic are points of similarity between the former and those other scripts. A consideration of one single factor is enough to convince us that the theory of direct influence of Spanish upon Beneventan is

[1] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 52 sqq.

untenable. I refer to the usage with regard to the ligatures with *i* discussed above. And when we say ligatures with *i*, it should be remembered that we are referring not to a single feature but to a group of them sufficient to give character to a page of the script. Combined *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, and *ti* (see above, p. 93) are, as we have seen, the constant and distinguishing trait of developed Beneventan: to them early Beneventan even adds *ci*. If we except their occasional use, chiefly at the end of a line, these ligatures are practically absent from Spanish calligraphy. In Italian MSS., however, some or all of them may be found in the early products of minuscule writing. They are likewise in common use in early French minuscule: in the 8th-century MSS. of the Luxeuil type and the Corbie MSS. of the « type. Their absence from the later Corbie MSS. of the ꝺb type is only symptomatic of the tendency which bore fruit in the Palatine school and in Tours, of ridding calligraphy of cursive elements, these among them. But not a few MSS. of Italian, French, and German centres bear witness to the tenacity with which the ligatures *ri* and *ti* clung to life even after the year 800.

Besides the ligatures there are other smaller differences which are not without significance in showing which way the stream of influence ran. The use of subscript *i*, which originates in Insular and finds its way into Italian MSS.—e. g. those of Bobbio—occasionally appears in earliest Beneventan but is a practice unknown in Visigothic. In contrast with this it may be mentioned that the use of superior *a* in combination with the following letter, for instance *m* or *n*, occurs in Visigothic and not in Beneventan, though it is well known to North Italian writing, as well as to early French and German minuscule.

Broken *c* is very frequent in early Beneventan, it is a feature of early French, it is absent from Visigothic. The Beneventan *e* with the closed upper loop extending above the shorter letters has its parallel in the French pre-Caroline, Visigothic *e* being open and rather short. It is needless to repeat that

Beneventan *g* is more like the *g* of pre-Caroline French and North Italian MSS., and utterly unlike the Visigothic. The arches of *m* and *n* in Beneventan and in French and North Italian pre-Caroline minuscule are relatively high, in early Visigothic they are notably low and broad, and the last stroke, as we have seen, turns in, whereas in the other schools mentioned it bends at the line and turns outward. The stem of *r* and *s* often extends below the line both in Beneventan and pre-Caroline—especially Corbie MSS. The contrary is true of Visigothic. The letter *t* in the earliest Beneventan bears, as has been said, more resemblance to the *t* of other schools than to the Visigothic.

So much for the ligatures and letters. As for the abbreviations, the typical forms of the Spanish, Beneventan, and French schools have been tabulated above. It only remains to say that the differences between Beneventan and Spanish are all actually points of agreement with the other schools with which we have compared the Beneventan.

The abbreviation-stroke of early Beneventan MSS. is often capricious, as is its *m*-stroke; in this respect resembling pre-Caroline French and Italian usage and differing from the Visigothic line and point.

Lastly may be mentioned the titles, colophons, and initials. A type of unfilled uncials of a rather crude form for *incipit* and *explicit*, which is used in early Beneventan, appears in French pre-Caroline MSS. of the 8th century (e.g. Paris lat. 12598). And the Beneventan initials with their interlaced patterns and division into compartments have far greater resemblance to early French initials than to Visigothic.

It is hardly necessary, though it would be possible, to enumerate other small points of resemblance showing closer relation between the Beneventan and pre-Caroline Italian or French than between Beneventan and Spanish. We may say finally that the general impression made by the scripts when compared bears out the testimony of the details.

Such, then, is the result of a comparison between early

Beneventan and Visigothic. All the graphic differences, large as well as small, all the numerous and signal dissimilarities in the abbreviations, which next to the letters themselves constitute the most delicate register of influence, point to the same conclusion. If, then, there is small support for the theory of Visigothic influence during the earliest stage of the Beneventan, there would seem to be logically even less for any theory based on the similar look of the two scripts in their developed state, when we give due value to the fact that there existed perfect continuity of development between the early and the mature periods of the Beneventan script. The similarity between developed Beneventan and developed Visigothic—two systems of calligraphy which base upon cursive—is fully accounted for by the accident of their distance from the main Caroline stream, a circumstance which permitted them both to pursue their course upon lines begun before the Caroline reform, which had interfered with a similar development in France and North Italy. But for the reform, it is not too much to say, French minuscule as well as Visigothic, North Italian as well as South Italian, would have continued using types showing just as great resemblance to each other, for all their local differences, as exists between developed Spanish and developed Beneventan. Such a hypothesis is neither rash nor fanciful in view of the many MSS., both French and Italian, which illustrate the general tendency before the reform. Rather, it would seem the only one broad enough to comprehend and account for all the phenomena present.

I have gone into such detail to disprove the influence of the Spanish upon the Beneventan script, not so much because the fact in itself is instructive as because it illuminates the history of the whole trend of early minuscule. In establishing proper relations between Spanish and Beneventan we have been enabled to study the forces at play in the entire field. We have seen the first attempts of the North Italian scribe, the early efforts of the Burgundian copyist, and where they sought their raw material. We have seen how the character

of their workmanship betrays less and less the marks of its cursive origin, the nearer it approaches to the Caroline reform; and how the reform changed the whole course of the history of writing. With what school originated the idea of creating a minuscule from the cursive it is impossible to say. There can be no doubt that the impulse to create a script which would be more economical than uncial or semi-uncial was first felt in centres where copying activity was liveliest. The vogue which Isidore of Seville had during the very time when such a minuscule was being shaped, strongly suggests that the need of such a script may have been first felt by Spain, in order to supply the demand for his books. Be that as it may, the earliest products of France and Northern Italy betray not the slightest symptom of a dependence upon Visigothic models. This statement is based not only upon the form of the letters but upon the character of the abbreviations, orthography, punctuation, and ornamentation. What is more, in the case of the Spanish we are unfortunately not in a position to speak of its minuscule prior to the end, or shall we say the middle, of the 8th century, for its 8th-century MSS. are rare. Over against this, not a few MSS. still exist which were written in Italian or French minuscule of the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century. The striking similarity between these early efforts at minuscule and the notarial products of the time is such as to make it unnecessary to suppose that foreign influence played any greater rôle than furnishing the general idea of the possibility of moulding a book script from cursive material.

With the Beneventan too, it is impossible to say when it sprang into existence. Owing to unfavourable political conditions it is improbable that this occurred prior to the beginning of the 8th century; in which case it could profit by the examples of Insular, French, and especially of North Italian, possibly even of Spanish minuscules. But as for its material, it had little or nothing to borrow from foreign models. In its uncial and semi-uncial MSS., and in the cursive

practised in its own region,[1] it had all the necessary elements. A script that had the hardiness to endure for five centuries, to develop consistently in a single direction, and to assert its independence by the uniqueness of certain of its traits, must have had from the first its roots deep set in its own native soil.

[1] See facs. in *Script. Benev.*, plates 1–6; a notarial product like the Diploma of Grimoald (pl. 6) is the best possible refutation of Visigothic influence. The document is of the year 810 and contains all the essential Beneventan features. No one would maintain that Beneventan cursive depended upon foreign, transalpine models.

CHAPTER VII

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE SCRIPT

Periods of Development

In following the development of the script on its formal side we recognize four periods, which may conveniently be spoken of as:

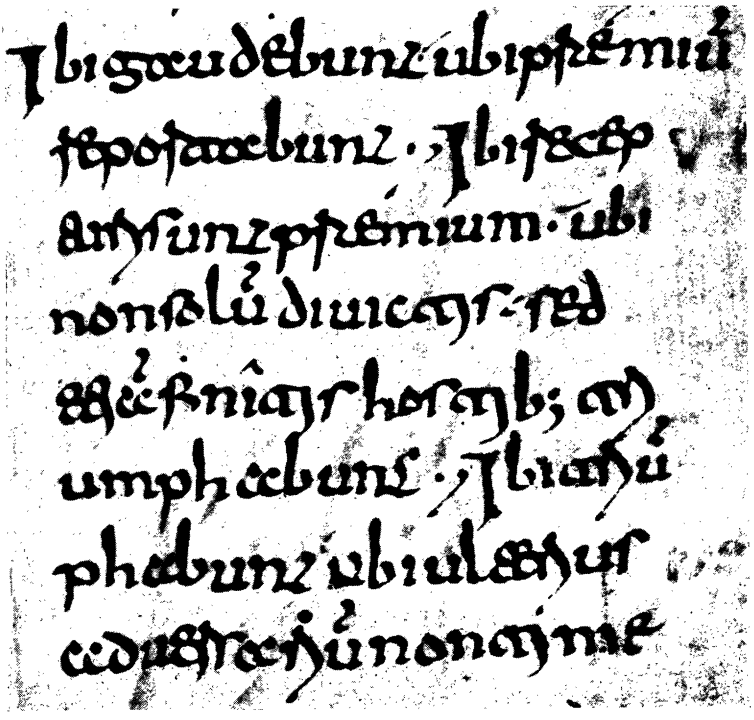
(1) the tentative period (saec. viii ex.–ix ex.).
(2) the formative period (saec. ix ex.–x).
(3) the period of maturity (saec. xi in.–xii).
(4) the period of decline (saec. xii ex.–xiii).

Identified with epochs in the history of Monte Cassino, the first period corresponds, roughly speaking, to the pre-Capuan epoch, the second to the Capuan, the third to the century which opens with the abbots Atenolf (1011–22) and Theobald (1022–35) and closes with Desiderius (1058–87) and Oderisius (1087–1105); the last period corresponds to the age of Abbot Bernard I (1264–82) and his immediate predecessors. In the period of maturity the Desiderian epoch is the most important, as it marks the highest point of development reached.

In order to guard against misapprehension, it must be stated at the outset that though for practical purposes dates have been attached to the four periods they must not be understood to be strictly defined by them. For example, an expert scribe of the 10th century may produce a MS. which is more calligraphic than another written by a less practised writer in the 11th. Or a profane book written in the 11th century may seem less calligraphic than a liturgical book of the 10th, because the latter was penned with unusual care. Yet after giving due weight to these considerations, a careful examination of the MSS. will convince us that in each case the most

TENTATIVE PERIOD

Facsimile No. 1.



MS. Naples VI B 12. A.D. 817–35. Pomerius, De vita contemplativa.

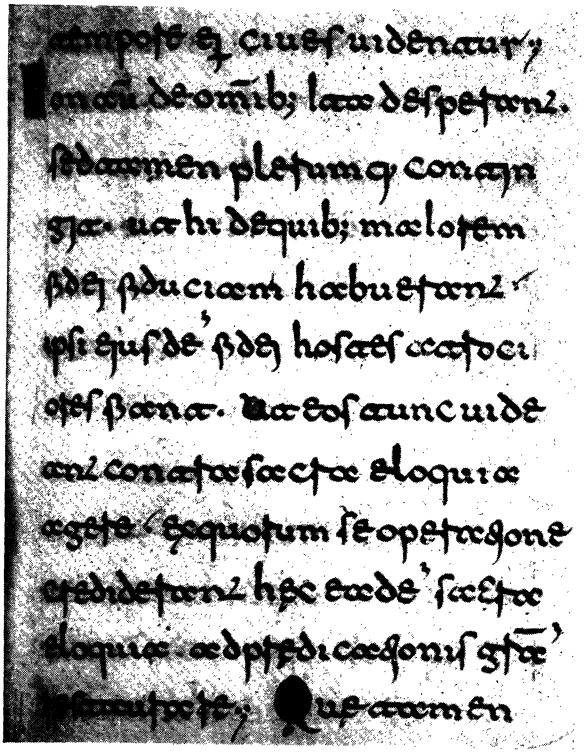
(Ibi gaudebunt ubi præmium
reportabunt. Ibi recep
turi sunt præmium, ubi
non solum diuictis, sed
etiam finitis hostibus tri
umphabunt. Ibi trium
phabunt ubi ulterius
aduersarium non time)

Script. Benev., pl. 14.

To face p. 122

FORMATIVE PERIOD

Facsimile No. 2.



MS. Monte Cassino 269. Ante A. D. 949. Gregorius, Moralia in Iob.

(tempore eius ciues uidentur.
Non autem de omnibus ita desperant,
sed tamen plerumque contin
git, ut hi de quibus maiorem
fidei fiduciam habuerant,
ipsi eiusdem fidei hostes atroci
ores fiant, Ut eos tunc uide
ant contra sacra eloquia
agere, ex quorum se operatione
crediderant hęc eadem sacra
eloquia ad prędicationis gratiam
restaurare. Quę tamen)

Script. Benev., pl. 46.

trustworthy test is the principle of evolution. It is not with hard and fast dating criteria that we are concerned here, but rather with marking out stages of development which reflect, not the exceptional heights reached by an individual, but the general level of progress and achievement. It should be borne in mind too that the development was more rapid and the decay quicker to set in, in the more active centres, so that a MS. from a small centre has the appearance of being older than a contemporary product of a more active scriptorium.

Tentative period. In the first period the cursive origin of the script is quite manifest. The script is in a state of indecision and flux. The insecurity of the scribe is betrayed in many ways. He uses various forms of the same letter. He employs ligatures in one instance and in another the uncombined forms. Now he will observe the *ti*-distinction and then again neglect it. One scribe, or school it may be, employs *i*-longa in accordance with definite rules, another is apparently quite ignorant of the usage. And all this vacillation and uncertainty is fully reflected in the handling of abbreviations and punctuation, two elements whose development always goes parallel with that of the graphic features. The general look of the script is uncalligraphic, the word-separation is poor. This period comprises the MSS. of the 8th century and the first three-quarters of the 9th. See *Script. Benev.*, plates 7–20.

Formative period. The second period seems to set in toward the end of the 9th century, as a result, unless I err, of a conscious script-reform.[1] From this time onwards the script is fully equipped. It is in possession of all its essential features,

[1] This would explain how MSS. after the end of the 9th century begin to show uniformity in matters where before diversity of practice existed, as in the matter of punctuation, in the use of accents, in the observance of certain rules, &c.

and decided, so to speak, upon the course it is to follow. The letters have achieved normalized forms; the *ti*-distinction is strictly observed; certain ligatures with enclitic *i* have become obligatory;[1] the use of *i*-longa is as definite as it ever becomes. Though the letters are still somewhat round and made with considerable freedom, the general appearance is more calligraphic, and a distinct step has been made in regularity of alignment and word-separation. The standard Beneventan punctuation, including the characteristic interrogation-sign,[2] now comes into use. Roughly speaking, this period closes with the 10th century. It should be noted, however, that till the middle of the 10th century the characteristics which I have just enumerated are not so marked as they become in the latter half. It is difficult to define the end of the period with exactness, and to do so is not a matter of consequence. Whether we place it at the close of the 10th century or in the beginning of the 11th, what this epoch represents in the development of the script is the achievement of all the essential features, coupled with a certain freedom of form as opposed to later strictness and conventionality.

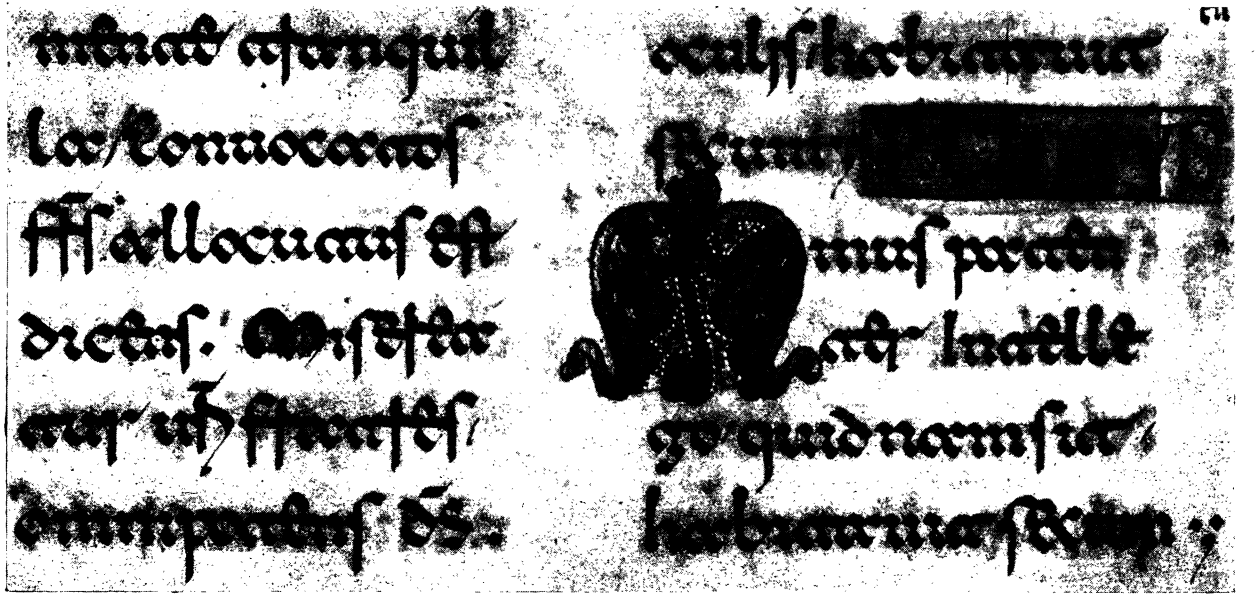
Period of maturity. This is the longest of the four periods and contains the products of greatest excellence and finish. Scholars have aptly connected the name of Desiderius (1058–87) with the best period of the Beneventan script; for the most beautiful 11th-century MSS. owe in fact their existence to the impetus given by his zeal and love of letters. I have grouped into one period with the Desiderian both the half-century preceding and the half-century following it, as they give us products which on the one side illustrate the gradual ascent to the height, and on the other the extremely slow, almost imperceptible falling away from the perfected type.

[1] See below, p. 142.

[2] Compare, for instance, the dated MSS. Monte Cassino 3 (874–92) and Monte Cassino 218 (a. 909). The latter has the characteristic period and interrogation-sign not found in the former.

To face p. 124

Facsimile No. 3.



MS. Vatic. lat. 1202. A.D. 1058–87. Lectionarium.

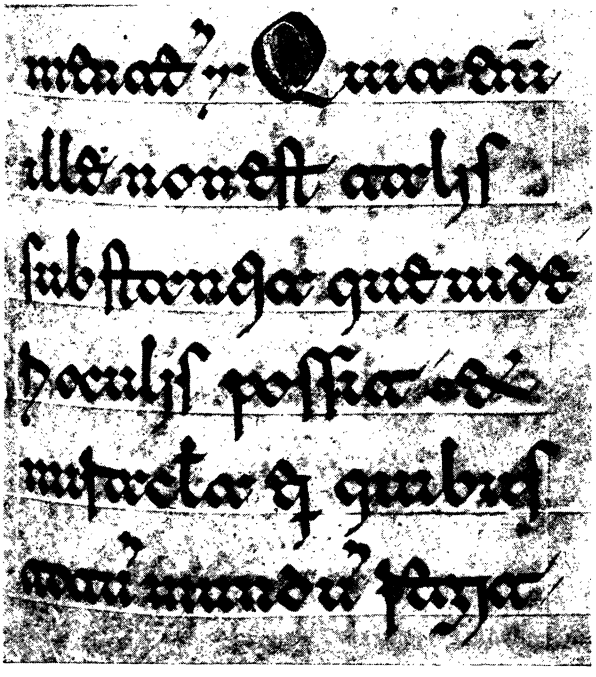
(mente tranquil
la conuocatos
fr*atres* allocutus est
dicens: Miserea
tur u*est*ri fratres
omnipotens d*eus*.

oculis habitauit
secum. PETRVS
Minus paten
ter intelle
go quidnam sit
habitauit secum.)

Script. Benev., pl. 70.

PERIOD OF MATURITY

Facsimile No. 4.



MS. Monte Cassino 47. A.D. 1159–73. Martyrologium, &c.

(mente*m*. Quia eni*m*
ille non est talis
substantia quę uide
ri oculis possit, et
mirac*u*la ei*us* quibus
totu*m* mundu*m* regit)
Script. Benev., pl. 88.

To avoid repetition I shall describe the achievements of the Desiderian period only, it being understood that the MSS. of the half-century preceding show the same characteristics in less perfect form, yet with that beauty which belongs to striving and ascending;[1] while the products of the half-century after display merely some intensification or exaggeration of the Desiderian characteristics, which finally deteriorates into mannerism.

In the MSS. of the Desiderian period, then, the first feature that strikes us is the regularity of the script. So admirable is the precision with which the letters are executed as to suggest in this respect mechanical reproduction, without, however, forfeiting the distinction and beauty which belong to the best handwriting.

The factors which contribute to this regularity are: the perfect alignment and measured spacing of letters and words; the alternation of thin and thick strokes, the thick strokes being oblique, lozenge-shaped, and parallel to each other; characteristics which lend a distinctive appearance to a Beneventan page of the developed period (except in the Bari type);[2] the neat 'bevelled' terminations of the stems projecting below the base-line; the position of the horizontal connecting-stroke, which uniformly coincides with the head-line; the junction of bows (see below, p. 149); the uniformity of the punctuation. In a word, the Desiderian scribe shows a consciousness of skill, a joy in the employment of it, and at the same time a masterly restraint and fastidiousness, which render his performance the finest flower of the script.

Period of decline. The fourth period may be said, roughly speaking, to coincide with the 13th century, though signs of decline are evident in many 12th-century MSS. If the Desiderian scribe transformed the rounded strokes of his

[1] The alignment is less perfect, the letters are rounder, the thin and thick strokes not so strongly contrasted, the latter lacking the characteristic shape.

[2] See below, p. 150.

predecessor into lozenge-shapes, the scribe of the 13th century in his turn abandoned the lozenge-shapes for a still more angular form. But it is not this angularity alone that marks the decline. In some curious way scribes lost their skill in joining the strokes,[1] with the result that the letters are broken up and a strong sense of disintegration prevails. This angularity and lack of continuity go hand in hand with a loss of skill in the marshalling of strokes and shafts. In a word, both vigour and precision are lacking. This does not exclude the execution of excellent calligraphic MSS. But even these, though at first blush they bear a resemblance to MSS. of the 11th century, betray on close inspection indubitable marks of decay.[2] Departure from all previous practice is seen in the loosening of tradition, the abandoning of old scribal rules, the admission of features from other schools, and the adoption of such innovations as the stroke over *i*, the hyphen, and the practice of ruling lines with ink or plummet.

The Elements

(Note. In the following pages I have used the terms base-line and head-line to indicate the two limits within which the short letters are made.)

The period in the Beneventan script with which the general student is chiefly acquainted is that of the perfectly developed forms of the 11th century.[3] These forms, it must be confessed, present a picture of which one is at first puzzled to make out the elements. The uniformity and monotony of the strokes, the almost artificial regularity of their succession and fusion seem utterly to disguise the type of writing of which this is only the crystallized, highly stereotyped development. Nothing

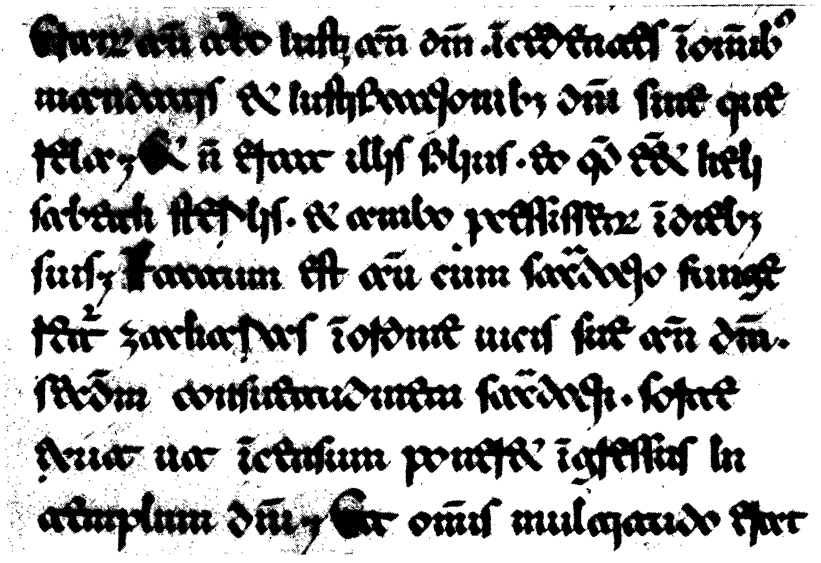
[1] In the nature of Beneventan calligraphy each letter had to be formed of a number of separate pen-strokes, which only the good scribe managed so to unite as not to show where they joined.

[2] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, plates 93 and 99.

[3] Known to palaeographers as *broken Lombard.*

PERIOD OF DECLINE

Facsimile No. 5.



MS. Cava 19. A.D. 1280. Evangelia.

(Erant au*tem* a*m*bo iusti an*te* de*u*m, i*n*cedentes i*n* om*n*ib*us*
mandatis et iustificationib*us* do*mi*ni sine que
rela. Et n*on* erat illis filius, eo q*uo*d es*s*et heli
sabeth sterilis, et ambo p*ro*cessissent i*n* dieb*us*
suis. Factum est au*tem* cum sac*er*dotio funge
ret*ur* zacharias i*n* ordine uicis sue an*te* de*u*m,
sec*und*um consuetudinem sac*er*dotii, sorte
exiit ut i*n*censum poneret i*n*gressus in
templum do*mi*ni. Et om*n*is multitudo erat)

Script. Benev., pl. 98.

To face p. 126

would be more incorrect than to suppose that this script is the result of arbitrary innovation. It must strongly be emphasized that every form of letter used in the Desiderian period is in fact nothing else than a more conventionalized, more calligraphic form of letters and ligatures which we already find in the 8th century. In other words the letters of the 11th century are the natural and logical development of those that preceded them, with hardly a single form modified in any essential degree. We may, in fact, say of the Beneventan script, as perhaps of no other, that from first to last it pursued one straight, undeviating line of development.

What is it that gives the developed script its characteristic look? It cannot be merely the use of those cursive forms which we have already discussed and which distinguish it from the Caroline—since these are found in other calligraphic minuscules which certainly present an appearance widely different from the developed Beneventan. The peculiar look of a page of developed Beneventan is also, and to a large extent, due to the manner in which the Beneventan scribe manages his pen—in other words, to his technique. It is this side of the scribe's activity which will be considered here; and to that end we must divide the letters into their constituent parts or elements and go into detail.

The important elements of which the letters are composed are the following six: the short upright or *i*-stroke, the bow, the tall upright stem, the stem descending below the base-line, the cross-stroke or horizontal connecting-stroke, and the approach-stroke.

The short upright or i-stroke. We begin with the *i*-stroke, since it is the principal unit or basic stroke of several constantly recurring short letters; that is to say, the manner in which short *i* is formed in the developed script is also the manner in which are formed the strokes of *m*, *n*, *u*, and part of *h* and *t*.

From the earliest period we note the tendency to avoid

making the *i* by means of the simple perpendicular line. Instead of the blunt beginning and blunt ending there is a slight approach to the letter in the shape of a tiny beginning-stroke from left to right; and a gentle finishing off by means of a similar tiny ending-stroke. When with a growing sense of calligraphy shading came to play a bigger rôle, the two ends of *i* became the thick or shaded parts of the letter. Inasmuch as several other letters were composed of precisely the same *i*-stroke, it became important, in order that the letters might have the uniformity which calligraphy naturally imposes, to bestow more and more care upon the shaded stroke—and as a matter of fact this stroke grows more uniform as the script develops. The precise shape of the shaded stroke—and it eventually receives a very definite shape—was, I believe, largely conditioned by the normal form of *i*. The upper shaded stroke descends from left to right in order to give the effect of the tiny approach; and the lower shaded stroke also descends from left to right in order similarly to suggest the end-stroke or slant upward. Only the middle of the letter remained fine, ɾ. The shape of the shaded stroke is determined by the shape of the pen-point. The Beneventan scribe wrote with a pen-point cut obliquely, the longer side being to the right from the point of view of the scribe. Given the desire to shade, a pen-point properly cut, and the shape of a letter like short *i*, the shaded parts must, if exaggerated and strongly contrasted with the fine part, assume the shape of an oblique lozenge; so that the *i*-stroke in a Desiderian MS. begins with a thick lozenge, to the lower end of which is joined another lozenge inclined at precisely the same angle as the first; the connexion of the two constituting the only fine part.[1] This lozenge, or shaded portion of the *i*-stroke, has such an important function that I believe it is no exaggeration to say that the shading of the 'bowed' letters was to some extent developed in conformity with it;

[1] The whole effect is obtained by alternating pressure and release of pressure without removing the pen.

and that the *i*-stroke came to form a part of letters with which it had normally nothing to do—as the bowed letter *t*.

The bow. This brings us to a consideration of the second element, the bow. There are thirteen letters which have this element, and of these we shall consider the most typical, namely, *o*.

Although such a letter can be formed with one stroke, it is easier to make it uniform if two strokes are used. When it is thus made we should expect the shading to fall in the centre portion of each of the two arcs. A comparison of a Beneventan *o* of the developed script with a shaded *o* of ancient inscriptions or modern sign-painting will disclose a significant difference. Whereas in the sign-painter's *o* the two arcs which have the shading are perpendicular to the base-line, and enclose a space forming an ellipse whose main axis is also perpendicular, the elliptical space enclosed by a Beneventan *o* of the best period has its main axis oblique, the inclination being to the left.[1] What causes this is the position of the shaded portion of the bows.[2] These begin not in what would correspond to the middle of the right and left arcs of *o*, but respectively at the lower end of the left and the upper end of the right arc; so that, if exaggerated, the whole letter assumes the shape of a lozenge standing on one of its corners, with the two long sides strongly shaded and the short sides very fine, ◆.

What is true of the two arcs of *o* is correspondingly true of the arcs which go to form the letters *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, (*k*), *p*, *q*, *s*, and *t*. In all these letters the shaded parts are of course all down-strokes, and are formed obliquely, so that one and all fall parallel with the oblique lozenge of the *i*-stroke. It is this fact which explains that extraordinary look of regularity which strikes us in MSS. of the Desiderian period and later.

[1] This is also true of the best uncials and other hands.

[2] The position of the shaded portion is naturally determined by the shape of the pen-point.

The upright stems. They are longer and slenderer in the earlier MSS., and shorter and more thick-set in the later ones. The attempt to club or thicken the top is already noticeable in the earlier MSS. The top receives the club-shape even in the second period. In the Desiderian MSS. and later it shows a tendency to angularity owing to the markedly heavy pen-pressure with which the letter begins. In the best period the shafts are more strictly upright than before it or after it. The letters which have the tall upright stems are *b*, *d* (when not uncial), *h*, *k*, *i*-longa, and *l*.

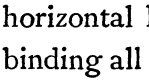
The descending stems. Letters with a stem descending below the base-line are primarily *p* and *q* and the form of enclitic *i* (used in the obligatory ligatures *ei*, *gi*, *li*, and *ti*) and, to a less extent, *f*, *r*, and *s*. All of these in the best period have the stem made by means of a perpendicular heavy stroke ending in an oblique hair-line going from right to left and giving the stem the appearance of being 'bevelled' off.[1] This effect is gained by the scribe's not removing the pen at the point where he ceased to shade, but leaving off gradually, as it were. In the MSS. of the first two periods (i. e. till the 11th century) the stems of *p* and *q* are made quite simply; those of prolonged or enclitic *i* are made freely and regularly turn in.

The horizontal connecting-stroke. The letters *e*, *f*, *g*, *r*, and *t* may be said to have connecting-strokes by which they are joined to the next letter. In the case of *e* and *f* the connecting-stroke is in reality the cross-stroke. In the case of *r* it is nothing but the extension of the shoulder; in the case of *t* it is merely the right shoulder of the cross-stroke; in the case of *g* it is the final affix at the top.

The element is important for two reasons: first, because it is a constant feature—for, except under certain circumstances with *r*,[2] these five letters always make connexion with the

[1] In many later MSS. (saec. xii–xiii) the hair-line extends on either side of the stem. It is a mannerism of the developed Bari type.

[2] When the shoulder bends upward.

letter following by means of this connecting-stroke—and secondly, because in the developed script it regularly consists of a heavy horizontal stroke which is precisely on a line with the top of short letters; so that a word like *regeret*, for instance, which has connecting-strokes throughout, has one straight horizontal line from the shoulder of *r* to the cross-stroke of *t*, binding all seven letters together, . This is one of the features which render a page of the developed Beneventan at once regular in appearance and difficult to decipher. The tendency to have the connecting-stroke coincide with the imaginary head-line is already noticeable in the 10th century.

The approach-stroke. There are four letters which have the approach-stroke: they are *f*, *p*, *r*, and *s*. In the case of *p*, it is made at the top of the stem, in the others about the middle. It consists merely of a point more or less thick. In the best period the approach-stroke has somewhat more body. It is a regular feature of the four letters and joins with any of the five letters mentioned above as having a connecting-stroke.

So much for the principal elements which make up the Beneventan alphabet. The analysis makes it clear that given the Beneventan calligraphic method the letters must have been made in several strokes. For, employing shading as he did, the Beneventan scribe was compelled to form his letters chiefly by means of down-strokes (since it is impossible to shade on an up-stroke); and to form letters by down-strokes necessarily involves lifting the pen oftener than otherwise. An example will make this clear. If the scribe had been satisfied in the case of the letter *o* to shade on the left side and continue his stroke upward to finish the letter, he might have completed it in one stroke. But if both bows of the *o* are to be shaded, two strokes are inevitable. This principle applies to all the letters.

Thus we recognize a curious anomaly in the Beneventan script—an incongruity between its origin and its development. While the Beneventan is *par excellence* the script which pressed

cursive elements into the service of book-writing, it is at the same time the one which in its technique departed most widely from cursive methods. Whereas the cursive forms were fashioned on the principle of minimum effort, that is by lifting the pen as little as possible, the Beneventan letters may truly be said to be formed with the maximum number of strokes. The scribe had to lift the pen a number of times in each letter,[1] thus using his instrument more like a brush than a pen.[2] In the obligatory ligature *gi* used in the script, no less than six separate strokes are employed. Its cursive progenitor was made in two.

The Letters

With respect to their position on the line single letters may be divided into several groups:

1. The short letters are: *a*, *c*, *i*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *r*, *t*, *u*, *x*. Of these ten, *a*, *m*, *n*, *o*, *t*, and *u* are invariably short; but *c* may rise above the head-line; *i* may descend below the base-line or be extended above the head-line; *r* may extend above and descend below the usual short letter, and *x* may descend below the line.

2. Letters with upright stems are: *b*, *d*, *h*, *k*, *i*-longa, and *l*. Of these the letter *d* has two forms; when uncial it lacks the upright shaft and is often shorter than the other five letters.

3. Letters descending below the base-line are: *f*, *g*, *p*, *q*, *r*, and *y* (in certain periods also *s* and even *i*[3]). Of these, *p* and

[1] To be sure the Beneventan calligrapher is not alone in this practice; but, while it is reasonable in a Caroline hand, it is curiously inconsistent in a script based on cursive.

[2] In his article 'Notes sur les écrivains au travail' (*Mélanges Chatelain*, p. 541) H. Martin suggests that Beneventan could have been written 'à main levée'. I am told by an expert in such matters, C. L. Ricketts, Esq., that the uniformity of a Beneventan MS. proves conclusively that the writing was done with the hand resting and not raised.

[3] In some MSS. of the developed type final *i* descends below the line when another *i* precedes. The same is often observed in roman numerals. For *i*-ligatures see below, p. 142.

q (and *r* in the body of a syllable[1]) regularly descend below the line; *f*, *g*, and *y* do not descend so much, occasionally not at all. All, with the exception of *g*, descend in a straight line. In MSS. of the developed period this line is usually 'bevelled' or finished off in a hair-line.

4. Letters projecting slightly above the head-line are: *c* (the broken form), *e*, *f*, *r*, *s*, and *z*.

A

One of the characteristic letters of the script. In its first stage (saec. viii–ix) it has the open form , shaped like two contiguous *c*'s. But the closed form , shaped like contiguous *oc*, appears very early. From the beginning of the 10th century and after, the closed form is the rule, the open form the exception.[2] In the developed script *a* is distinguishable from *t* merely by the last stroke. In *t* it is horizontal (coinciding with the imaginary head-line) and joins the following letter; in *a* it curves downward.

The uncial form (a) so typical of the Caroline minuscule is, like uncial *t* (see below, p. 139), used only for special reasons, as at the end of a line where space is lacking for the normal *a*,[3] or in marginalia[4] and glosses, where the more economical form is naturally preferred, or at the beginning of a new sentence, in lieu of a capital letter.[5] When we find it in some 12th- and 13th-century MSS. frequently used in the middle of the line, it is due to a declining sense of the traditions of the script.[6]

[1] The letter *r* is often short in the middle of a word when it happens to be at the end of a syllable (pe*r*-tinet). It is generally short at the end of a word in MSS. before the middle of the 11th century; in MSS. of the Bari type final *r* is short even in 12th-century MSS.

[2] Monte Cassino 434 is of the 11th century, yet it has the open *a*. But this is doubtless due to scribal idiosyncrasy.

[3] This practice is more frequent after the 10th century, but it dates from the 8th, as is seen from Paris lat. 7530.

[4] The crowded and finely written notes in the autograph copy of Leo Ostiensis (Munich 4623) show a preference for the uncial form.

[5] Cf. Vatic. lat. 3320, where a corrector changed ordinary *a* to uncial *a* because it followed a period.

[6] For example Monte Cassino 640. The Caroline *a* is also found in the

B

In the earliest MSS. the stem is relatively thin. In the developed script it is made shorter and more distinctly club-shaped. The bow is more often open than closed in MSS. of the 9th century. After the first third of the 11th century only the closed bow is employed.

C

There are two forms: the ordinary form, consisting of a single curve, and the less usual, resembling one *c* surmounted by another, *ɛ*. The latter, which we term 'broken *c*', is a direct inheritance from the cursive. It is especially frequent in the oldest MSS., less so in MSS. of the 10th and 11th centuries. It is still found here and there even in the best products of the late 11th and early 12th centuries. It is rare after that. This does not apply to MSS. of the Bari type, which curiously enough show such a liking for the broken *c* as to give it the preference. Apparently there are no rules for the use of broken *c*. Some scribes show a tendency to use it where two consecutive *c*'s occur, as though for variety. But in MSS. of the Bari type even two consecutive broken *c*'s occur. For facsimiles in the Bari type see *Script. Benev.*, plates 65, 74, 75, 85. See also below, pp. 150 sqq.

D

Two forms are used: the uncial and the Caroline. The latter has a straight shaft, the former has the shaft bent back upon itself. The normal form in Beneventan MSS. is the uncial. In the Desiderian period and later it is practically the only form. But both this form and the Caroline occur side by side, occasionally even in the same word, in many MSS. anterior to the 11th century. There is apparently no regularity in the choice of forms. Some scribes show an exclusive preference

middle of the line in Monte Cassino 97 saec. x in. This, however, is quite exceptional.

for the Caroline form.[1] Where the preference is for the uncial form, there is a tendency to use the straight-shafted *d* in abbreviations (qd̄, id̄, scd̄m), obviously because the vertical shaft is more adapted to the horizontal abbreviation-stroke.

E

The loop or closed upper curve characteristically extends above the normal height of a short letter. It is somewhat larger in the developed script, being as tall as *f*, *r*, or *s*. The stroke which divides the upper and lower curves runs horizontally along the imaginary head-line and forms the transition to the next letter.

F

Projects above the level of short letters and, except in the Bari type,[2] descends below the line. Like *r* and *s* it has a small, thick approach-stroke. It joins on to the following letter by means of a horizontal stroke which in the best period coincides with the imaginary head-line.

G

The upper bow is indifferently open or closed at all epochs of the script. The lower is regularly open and descends as a rule below the line.[3] In the earlier MSS. this part ends in a curved up-stroke; in those of the Desiderian period and later the curve is less marked. In some MSS. it even turns downward. The horizontal connecting-stroke runs along the imaginary head-line from the top of the curve to the following letter.

H

The ordinary form, with shaft relatively thicker and shorter in the developed script. The stroke forming the arch regularly turns outward at the base-line.

[1] Cf. Vatic. lat. 3317. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 49. [2] See below, p. 150.
[3] This is not invariably the case. In Vatic. lat. 3320 it is on the line.

I

Two forms exist, each with its own usage:

(*a*) *i*-longa, the tall form of *i*, used initially (unless the next letter has a shaft below or above the line) and medially when semi-vocal. It differs from *l* in that it lacks the little up-stroke at the foot.

(*b*) the short form of *i*, used in all other cases (excepting when *i* is preceded by *e*, *f*, *g*, *l*, *r*, or *t*, when enclitic *i* is used).[1]

On the rules of *i*-longa and enclitic *i* see chapter xii; on *i*-ligatures see below, p. 142; on dotted *i* see below, p. 276 sq.

K

Formed like an *h*, with a somewhat broader arch. Where the curve begins to descend it is surmounted by a stroke resembling a reversed comma, giving the whole the appearance of combined *hc*, �palatal c.

L

The shaft is shorter and more distinctly club-shaped in the developed script. It ends in a curved upward stroke which differentiates it from *i*-longa.

M

In MSS. after the end of the 9th century the three strokes which compose the letter resemble three consecutive *i*'s, each thickening at the bottom and turning to the right. In the earlier MSS. only the final stroke turns to the right.

N

The same development as that of *m*; in the earliest MSS. only the second stroke turns to the right.

O

The ordinary form. On the joining of bows, see below, p. 149.

[1] When two consecutive *i*'s occur at the end of a word, the second occasionally has the prolonged form which goes below the line. In roman numerals the last *i* often extends below the line.

P

The ordinary form. The top of the stem has a small approach-stroke.

Q

The ordinary form.

R

A letter with a distinct development and, therefore, important for dating. It is the form of *final r* which varies in different periods and constitutes a criterion. Its stem is regularly *short* and usually turned outward in MSS. older than the 11th century. The stem is regularly *long* (i.e. goes below the line) and usually straight and tapering off in the MSS. of the best period (i.e. second half of the 11th century) and later.[1] At the beginning of the 11th century the usage vacillates; so that in the same MS. we find one scribe practising the old form of final *r*, another the new (see *Script. Benev.*, pl. 57). In MSS. of the Bari type, however, the short form of final *r* continues in use even in the 12th century.

At the beginning or in the body of a word *r* is long unless it is followed by the letter *i*, in which case it invariably combines with the latter and has the short stem. MSS. which have the short form at the end of a word also show the occasional use of the short stem at the end of a syllable in the body of a word.[2]

The letter in all periods has a small thickening or approach-

[1] This rule is more strictly applicable to MSS. of Cassinese origin. For in MSS. written elsewhere, final *r* is short even later; so that the use of the long form is a safer criterion than that of the short. That the form of final *r* was carefully distinguished from that of initial or medial *r* is clearly illustrated by two corrections in the Laurentian Tacitus (68. 2), to which G. Andresen has called attention. The scribe wrote *pulcherrimam* and made the stem of the first *r* long. Thinking, however, that the reading was *pulcher rimam* he changed the first *r* to a short one. Again, he wrote *curantiquitus* in one word, and made the *r* accordingly long. Realizing his error he changed the long stem to a short one, making the reading *cur antiquitus* (cf. G. Andresen, *In Taciti historias studia critica et palaeographica* (Berlin 1899) i. 7 sqq.). The date of the Laurentian Tacitus, to judge by this criterion, would hardly be later than 1050.

[2] See *Script. Benev.*, plates 39, 55, &c.

stroke to the left of the stem. By means of its shoulder it makes connexion with the following letter. In final *r* the shoulder ends in an upward curve, made rather freely in MSS. before the 11th century but more restrained in those of the developed script.

The form ꝛ, shaped like an arabic number two, is first used, as in uncial writing, exclusively in the combination *or* in the suspension *-orum*.[1] During the 10th century it is found here and there after *o* even in the body of a word. It does not become frequent till the 13th century, and then most likely as a result of foreign influences. The same form suprascript comes into use about the end of the 11th century and gains ground gradually, becoming quite common in this or a similar form in MSS. of the 13th century.

S

The letter projects above the level of short letters and ends in a downward curve. The stem usually descends below the line in MSS. of the developed script, save in those of the Bari type,[2] which have the stem short and somewhat turned outward, even in the 12th century. Like *f*, *p*, and *r*, *s* has a small approach-stroke to the left of the stem.

During the 11th century the custom comes in of writing final *s* by means of a suprascript uncial form of the letter; or by means of a large uncial letter on the line, when *s* happens to be the last letter.

T

One of the characteristic letters of the script, and manifestly of cursive origin. It is usually made in three strokes, in this order: (1) a curved stroke formed like the letter *c*, (2) a vertical stroke formed like short *i*, and (3) a horizontal stroke traced along the head-line to the right from the top of the vertical stroke. The vertical stroke represents the stem of the

[1] It is also used occasionally in the combination *ar* in the suspension *-arum*.

[2] See below, p. 150.

letter, the other two strokes (which in cursive are made without removing the pen) represent the cross-beam. The curved stroke regularly descends as far as the line after the middle of the 10th century, occasionally even in earlier MSS. When it touches the lower portion of the vertical stroke it forms a closed curve. This is the rule after the best period (saec. xi ex.). Before then the open curve is more usual.

In the developed script *t* is differentiated from *a* by the last stroke. In *t* it is horizontal, or slightly turned up when final; in *a* the corresponding part makes a downward curve.[1]

The uncial form, proper to ordinary minuscule, occurs here and there. But like uncial *a* (see above) it is used only under certain circumstances, as at the end of a line,[2] where there is insufficient room for the regular form, or in crowded glosses and marginal additions, where the less bulky form is more suitable. This form, which usually projects above short letters, is more frequent in the developed script, but cases occur even in the 9th century.[3]

U

Formed like two consecutive *i*'s, with the difference that the end of the first stroke turns upward and touches the next. The V-form is used suprascript here and there for the sake of saving space. This form is more common in MSS. of the first period.

W

In MSS. prior to the 11th century we find two consecutive *u*'s for *w*.[4] Apparently the letter is not used before the second half of the 11th century.[5] The two middle strokes of *w* cross, so that the letter resembles a monogram of two V's, W.

[1] Andresen, l.c., pp. 12 sqq., has noted this difference.

[2] Without necessarily being the last letter on the line. Here and there the uncial form of *t* is found at the end of a word in the middle of a line.

[3] See Monte Cassino T XLV. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 19.

[4] This is still the case in Vatic. Pal. lat. 909 (a. 977–1026). *Script. Benev.*, pl. 55.

[5] My earliest example occurs in Vatic. lat. 4958 (c. a. 1087) fol. 3. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 72.

X

Usually formed in three strokes. The main stroke is the somewhat sinuous line inclined to the left. From about the middle of this (often below the middle) a shorter stroke is made from right to left downward, turning in or out. The last stroke, shaped like a reversed comma, is traced upward from left to right, ending in a downward curve. It joins the first stroke usually above the middle and forms with the lower half of it a shape identical with *c*.

Y

The ordinary form, consisting of a part shaped like V on the line and a vertical stroke below the line, traced downward from the angle of V, now vertically, now obliquely. Occasionally the whole letter is on the line. In some MSS., as in Archiv. Vatic. Regesti Vat. 1, the letter is made thus : the right arm descends in a straight line and coincides with the stem, the left arm being a horizontal line at right angles with the stem, ɥ. Dotted *y* occurs only here and there ; it is not usual.

Z

Uniformity of shape is lacking owing to the relatively rare occurrence of the letter ; but a certain similarity always exists. The usual form differs from capital *z* in that the first and last strokes are curved, the first one up and the second down. The different shapes of the letter are chiefly caused by variations in the upper curve, and in part by the greater or lesser length of the oblique line. The letter often resembles semiuncial *g* except that the horizontal top of *z* curves upward at the left.

The Ligatures

When two consecutive letters merely join without suffering any real change of form, we have what we may call united letters or unions. When on the other hand two consecutive letters are combined in such a manner that one or both lose their normal form to a greater or less degree, we have what we call

ligatures or combinations. It is this sacrifice of one part or other for the sake of the combination that makes the essential feature of a ligature.

Ligatures arise either because space is lacking for the single letters, which happens usually at the end of lines—and such are the ligatures found in inscriptions and in our oldest uncial and semi-uncial MSS.—; or because time is lacking—and such is the case in notarial products, where the exigencies of rapid writing interfered with the normal formation of the letters.

Whereas the engraver in cutting the ligature NT—to take a concrete example—actually saved the space of one letter, the notary, on the other hand, as often as not employs as much space for the ligature as would be taken by the uncombined letters. What he gains by the ligature is the time saved by not removing the pen—he economizes in time through economy of effort. It is this latter kind of ligature which was bodily taken over from the cursive by the early types of minuscule that based upon the cursive—doubtless through this same motive of economy. Of these types the Beneventan not only used the ligatures to a greater extent than the others, but made them a permanent part of its calligraphy. When the script became calligraphic the ligatures became fixed in their form and were handed down, now without the least consciousness on the part of the scribe of the circumstances of their origin.

As has been said, the essential fact in a ligature is that one or both of the letters suffer modification. In trying to discover some principle for grouping the various ligatures, I have observed that in practically all of them one letter suffers more than the other. I may, therefore, be allowed to propose a terminology based upon this principle. Though not entirely apposite for all cases it will be found convenient for some at least. I have called a ligature *enclitic* when the second letter is changed and depends upon the first; and *proclitic* when the chief modification is undergone by the first letter, which seems to lean on the second. There are cases, however, in which it

is hard to decide which of the letters is the parasite, since both are somewhat modified. In such cases I was guided by the one which has suffered the greater change, and grouped the ligature accordingly.

It is more important to make one other classification. There are ligatures which may or may not be used ; there are ligatures which *must* be used—by which I mean that whenever certain letters occur in juxtaposition none but the combined form of them is permissible. I have called the first kind *optional* and the second kind *obligatory*.

Grouped according as they are enclitic or proclitic, we have the ligatures :

(1) with enclitic *i*: (*ci*)[1], *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, (*mi*, *ni*)[1], *ri*, *ti* unassibilated.
(2) ,, enclitic *p* : *rp*, *sp*, *xp*.
(3) ,, enclitic *r* : *or*, *ar*.
(4) ,, enclitic *t* : *et* and *nt* ; *ct* and *st*.
(5) ,, proclitic *a* : the diphthong *ae*.
(6) ,, proclitic *t* : (*ta*, *te*, *tu*)[1], and *ti* assibilated.

Obligatory ligatures are : *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, *ti* (two forms). All others are optional.

ae[2]

Optional. In the earliest MSS. (saec. viii–ix), and occasionally in later ones, we find a combination of *a* and *e* in which the *a* has the open form like two contiguous *c*'s, the second *c* being represented by the lower curve of *e*, which preserves its normal shape, . The more usual ligature, however, which is as ancient as the former, is that in which the *a* plays a more subordinate part, being no more than a tail or cedilla attached to the lower curve of *e*, . Structurally this tail, shaped more or less like *c*, represents the bow of uncial *a*, the main stroke of the latter being represented by the lower curve of *e*. In both these ligatures of *ae* the *a* is proclitic.

[1] The less common forms I enclose in parenthesis.

[2] Owing to mediaeval orthography the same ligatures occur for the diphthong *oe*. The form of the diphthong found in Bamberg E III 4 is unusual.

ct

Optional. It is the broken form of *c* that lends itself to the combination. The end of the upper curve continues vertically downward as far as the base-line and turns outward. This line, which represents the stem of *t*, is intersected by a short horizontal stroke forming the cross-beam.

ci

Found in a few of the oldest MSS.[1] (otherwise very rare[2]). From the lower end of *c* a stroke shaped like a comma descends below the line and represents the *i*.

ec

Optional. The two letters seem to form a union rather than a ligature. Yet there is enough modification to justify the classification. The sagitta or tongue of *e*, which is usually made from left to right horizontally, descends obliquely and forms the lower half of *c*.

ei

Obligatory. From the sagitta or horizontal bar of *e* a long stroke descends vertically and turns in. This is the prolonged form of *i*. The short form of *i* after *e* would be an anomaly[3] (cf. *fi*, *li*, *ri*, *ti*). But *i*-longa is very frequent after *e*, when the *i* is semi-vocal, as in *eius*. It is a case of two rules conflicting, and the scribe could write eIus, or ejus, both being correct.

et

An optional ligature used chiefly in the conjunction and when *et* stands at the end of a word. In the body of a word the combination is avoided.[4] The sagitta which separates the

[1] Bamberg HJ IV 15, Paris lat. 7530, Monte Cassino 299, Monte Cassino 187.

[2] Owing most likely to the confusion which would arise with the assibilated *ti* form, in which proclitic *t* is like broken *c*.

[3] It is found here and there, but on the whole rarely.

[4] In this respect differing strongly from Caroline MSS. and especially

two curves of *e*, instead of being horizontal as usual, descends obliquely to the base-line and is surmounted by a comma-like stroke. This stroke represents the cross-beam of *t*, the curve below doing duty for the stem (cf. the ligature *nt*).



fi

Obligatory.[1] The upper end of *f* bending inward forms an open curve, to which a similar curve is attached below, which represents the letter *i*, the sagitta of *f* being represented by the junction of the two curves. The stem of *f* and the curve for *i* often descend below the line. In the Bari type they often rest on the base-line. In some MSS. of the early period we find a form of *fi* in which the *i* is represented by a comma-like stroke suspended from the sagitta, .[2]



gi

Obligatory. The prolonged form of *i*, descending below the line and turning inward, is suspended from the horizontal connecting-stroke of *g*.



li

Obligatory. The prolonged form of *i*, descending below the line and turning inward, is joined to the upward curve at the base of the *l*.



mi

The ligature is used only occasionally, instances occurring in the oldest MSS. as well as in those of the developed script. From the bottom of the last stroke of *m* a stroke shaped like a comma descends below the line and represents the *i*.

from those written in German schools. Exceptions occur. In Vatic. lat. 3741 saec. xi ex. the ligature *et* is often used in the body of the word.

[1] Uncombined *fi* is to my knowledge hardly ever found after the 9th century and seldom even before then. That the ligature is a rule of the script is made plain not only by its regular use but also by the work of correctors.

[2] This type of *fi* is found even as late as the 10th century, see *Script. Benev.*, pl. 40[a], col. 2. But it is on the whole very rare after the 9th.

ni

The ligature is analogous with that of *mi*, and similarly formed.

nt

Optional. Its use is confined to the end of the word.[1] Before the 11th century various forms of it are found. One of these, which is already found in the 8th century, becomes the normal form in the developed script. It is made thus: from the bottom of the second stroke of the *n* a horizontal line is drawn from left to right, which is surmounted by a stroke shaped like an elongated comma. It is this stroke which assumes various shapes in the earlier MSS. Analysing the form we find that the stem of *t* is represented by that part of the horizontal line which is to the right of the elongated comma; and that the part to the left of this line, with the comma, constitutes the cross-stroke. That this is the correct interpretation of the parts appears clearly from an examination of the various forms found previous to the 11th century, and from a comparison with the ligature *et*, in which the *t* closely corresponds in shape to that found in *nt*. In fact, a MS. which shows an unusual form of *t* in the combination *nt* will usually have the same form in the combination *et*. There is no foundation whatever for considering the second letter an inverted *t*.

or[2]

Optional; and chiefly (one might almost say exclusively) used in the abbreviated form of the genitive plural ending *orum*. The antiquity of the combination is seen from the fact that it is not ordinary but uncial *r* which combines with *o*. An analysis

[1] In Caroline MSS., and especially those of the German school, combined *nt* is not rare in the body of the word. The scribe of Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex. wrote *eloquenti* with combined *nt*. A corrector modified this so that *ti* formed the combination and not *nt*.

[2] On this ligature see W. Meyer, 'Die Buchstaben-Verbindungen der sogenannten gotischen Schrift,' in *Abh. der K. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen* N.F. i (1897) No. 6, pp. 11 sqq.

of the ligature shows that the stem of *r* is missing and that its place is supplied by the right half of the *o*. The upper bow of uncial *r* descends to the line and is sometimes open, sometimes closed; the lower stroke is represented by a horizontal line. It is this line which is regularly intersected by a sinuous vertical stroke in the genitive ending *orum* to indicate omitted *um*. Thus arises the curious form . In post-Desiderian MSS. this form of *or* is found also in the body of a word. Occasionally it occurs in earlier MSS.[1]

 *ri*

Obligatory. The stem of *r* remains invariably on the line. The shoulder, instead of turning upward, bends downward and descends below the line in a sinuous stroke like reversed *s*. The lower part of the stroke represents the *i*.[2]

 *rit*

This ligature never becomes very common, and is never to my knowledge found before the 11th century. It is formed like the ligature *ri*, with an additional short horizontal stroke intersecting the part which represents *i*. The tail of the ligature thus becomes the stem of *t*, the intersecting line its cross-stroke.

 *rp*

Optional. The shoulder of *r* branches off from the stem, goes up to a point, and then descends obliquely to form the bow and stem of *p*, the bow being left open and the stem turning outward as in the ligature *sp*.

 *sp*

Optional. The curved upper end of *s* joins the top of the loop of *p*, and continues downward to form the bow which is

[1] My oldest example is in Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x, fol. 157^{v}: conc*or*diam.

[2] The ligature was misunderstood by Trombelli (*L'arte di conoscere l'età de' codici*, p. 86, cited above, p. 29, n. 2), and by Seroux d'Agincourt (*Histoire de l'art par les monuments*, vol. v, pl. 81, 6th alphabet).

left open. The stem of *p* often curves outward. In some MSS. the curve connecting the two letters is broken so as to form two arches.

 *st*

Optional. The curved upper end of *s* is continued vertically downward and turns outward at the bottom, thus forming the stem of *t*. The short and sometimes sinuous horizontal line which intersects the stem constitutes the cross-stroke of *t*.[1]

 *sti*

When *sti* occurs, the ligature *st* has the form just described, and to the right end of the cross-stroke of *t* is joined the elongated form of *i*, which descends below the base-line.

ta, te, ti, tu

Just as the normal Beneventan *t*, with the cross-stroke descending in a bow to the left of the stem, is manifestly an adaptation of cursive *t*, so too the forms of the ligatures *ta*, *te*, *tu*, and assibilated *ti* are a direct inheritance from the notarial script. The form of *t* in these ligatures ceases to puzzle us as soon as we analyse its parts. Though it suffers striking modifications it remains structurally unchanged.

The stem of *t*, instead of being vertical, is made by means of a curve like *c*. The cross-stroke, instead of descending in a bow to the left of this curve, rises above it, so that the whole resembles broken *c* (or Greek *epsilon*). The upper curve continues in a downward direction and forms the back to the two open curves. It is this line which forms part of the following letter, be it *a*, *e*, *u*, or *i*.

[1] In the 11th-century MS. Naples VIII B 3, and the Bisceglie Evangeliarium we find a curious variety of this ligature. The curve connecting the *s* and *t* dips in the middle thus forming two arches.

 ta

The rarest of these ligatures, occurring only in a few of the oldest MSS. The continuation of the upper curve or cross-stroke of *t* coincides with the first curve of *a*.

 te

Found frequently in the 9th century, less so in the 10th, and very rarely after that. The continuation of the upper loop or cross-stroke of *t* forms the back or main curve of *e*.

 ti

Two ligatures of *ti* exist, each with a distinct function and strictly obligatory. One form is reserved to represent assibilated *ti* (*ti* followed by a vowel and preceded by any letter except *s*),[1] the other to represent unassibilated *ti*. Whenever *t* is followed by *i*, one of these combinations must be used.

The ligature of *ti* unassibilated is of simple construction. The *t* preserves its normal form, and the *i* descends from the end of the cross-stroke and goes below the base-line, as in *ei*, *gi*, &c.

In assibilated *ti* the same form of *t* is used as in the ligatures *ta* and *te* just described; the upper loop or cross-stroke of *t* continues downward below the line and forms the *i*.

 tu

Frequent in the earliest MSS., less so in the 10th century, and rare thereafter. The continuation of the upper loop or cross-stroke of *t* constitutes the first stroke of *u*.

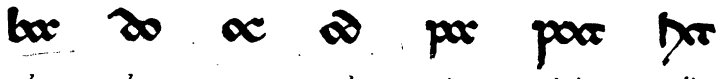
 xp

Optional. The upper right arm of *x* connects with the bow of *p*, the rest of which is formed without removing the pen or retracing any portion, thus leaving the bow open. The stem of *p* usually turns outward.

[1] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, p. 18, and below, p. 303 sq.

The Unions

By unions, as has been said, we mean the joining of letters without modifying their forms to any appreciable extent. There are certain letters which always connect with the following letter; these are *e*, *f*, *g*, *r*, and *t* (see above, p. 130). There is also another kind of union, namely, that caused by the contact of two bows—a widespread palaeographical feature to which the eminent scholar Wilhelm Meyer of Speyer was the first to give systematic treatment.[1]



ba *do* *oc* *od* *pa* *pot* *rit*

Theoretically, the joining of bows is possible in the Beneventan script when the letters *b*, *d*, *o*, or *p*, or the ligature *ri* is followed by any of the letters *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *o*, *q*, or *t*. This I believe makes forty possibilities. But other bow junctions are also found, as for instance, of *bb*, *pp*, &c., in which a bow comes in contact with a shaft. Although the joining of consecutive bows is frequent after the first decades of the 11th century, it is not an absolute rule even in the most perfect examples of the end of the century. In post-Desiderian MSS. it is so frequent as to be practically the rule, though some MSS. even of the 12th century show many exceptions. At the beginning of the 11th century it is used quite without regularity; yet we find it occurring frequently even in some MSS. of the 10th century. In fact after the middle of the 10th century the tendency becomes marked. But distinctions should be made. When found in MSS. of the early part of the 10th century it is more apt to be due to lack of care; when found in those of the fully developed script it is used intentionally as part of the calligraphic equipment. In the earliest MSS. its occurrence is sheer accident.

[1] Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer, 'Die Buchstaben-Verbindungen der sogenannten gotischen Schrift' in *Abhandlungen der K. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen* N. F. i (1897) No. 6, pp. 34 sqq. and pl. 1, nos. 9–10.

Characteristics of the Bari type

The variety of Beneventan minuscule which we have called the Bari type presents an appearance strikingly different from the type which flourished in Monte Cassino or Benevento. The main effect is of a roundish script as opposed to the angular hand of the other Beneventan schools. The effect of roundness is chiefly due to the absence of strong contrast between thin and heavy pen-strokes, to the smaller number of stems descending below the base-line, and to the comparative shortness of the stems which rise above the head-line. The type shows traces of Byzantine influence both in script and figure decoration. The initials, though Beneventan in their general design, have a character of their own which is unmistakable. See plates VI–VIII.

As characteristics of this type may be mentioned:

1. The frequent occurrence of the broken form of *c*, shaped like Greek *epsilon* (ε); the rather large form of *e* with the two curves almost equal; the form of *s* and *f*, which do not descend below the line and are rather top-heavy; of final *r* with short stem, and medial *r* resembling a cross without the left branch.

2. The ligature *fi*, with the stem of *f* usually resting on the line, and the part representing the *i* often forming a broad curve which rests on or above the base-line and turns inward; also other ligatures with enclitic *i*, noteworthy for the form of the *i*, which usually terminates in a more or less pronounced curve, e.g. *ei*, *li*, *ti*.

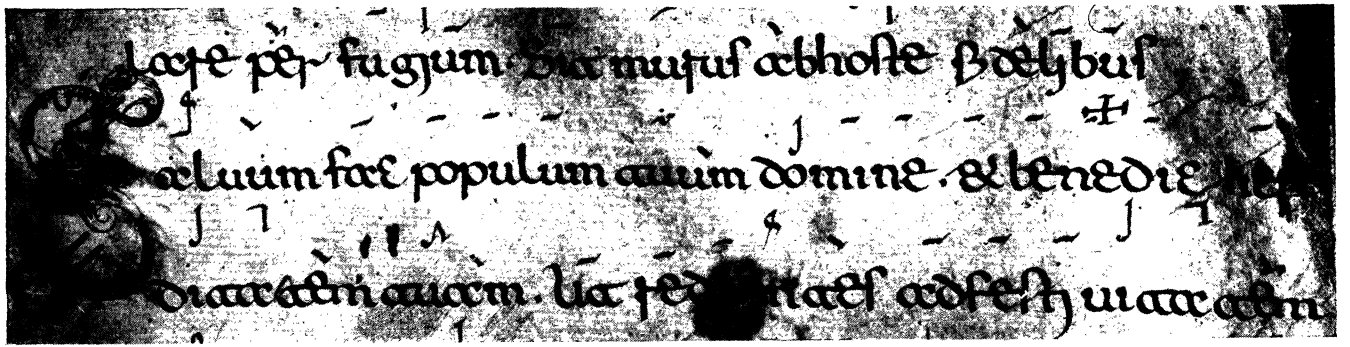
3. The form of the abbreviation-sign, frequently a line surmounted by a dot, a form otherwise chiefly found in Visigothic MSS.

4. The frequent use of the form ÷ or ÷̇ to represent *est*.

5. The use of thin-bodied initials with large-sized pearls between the spaces of the interlaced pattern and the use of the human head, generally in profile at the extremity of the initial letter.

face p. 150

Facsimile No. 6.



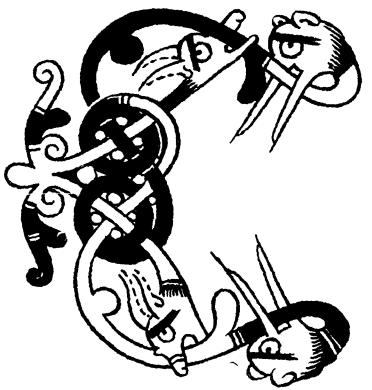
Bari Cathedral Library. Ante A.D. 1067. 'Exultet' Roll.

(lare perfugium, Sit murus ab hoste fidelibus.
Saluum fac populum tuum domine, et benedic here
ditatem tuam, Ut redeuntes ad festiuitatem)

Script. Benev., pl. 65.



Facsimile No. 7.



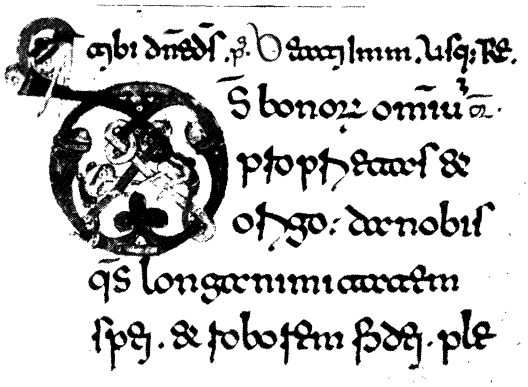
Facsimile No. 8.



Facsimile No. 9.

Initials taken from MS. Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii. Sallust.

Facsimile No. 10.

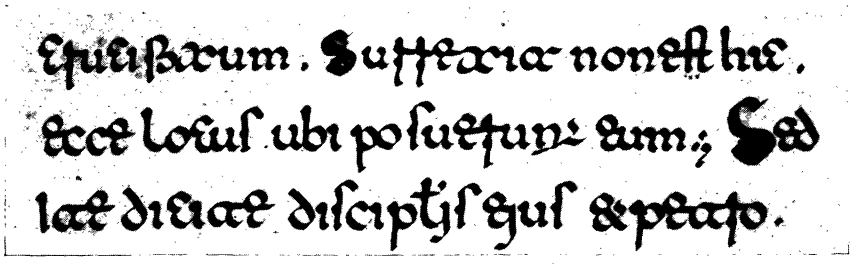


MS. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277 (Zara) saec. xi ex.
Horae B.V.M., &c.

(tibi *domi*ne *deus*. *psalmus*. Beati imm*aculati*. Usq*ue* Re*sponsorium*
Deus bonor*um* om*nium* *oratio*.
proprietas et
origo, da nobis
q*uaesumus* longanimitatem
spei, et roborem fidei, ple)

Script. Benev., pl. 75.

Facsimile No. 11.

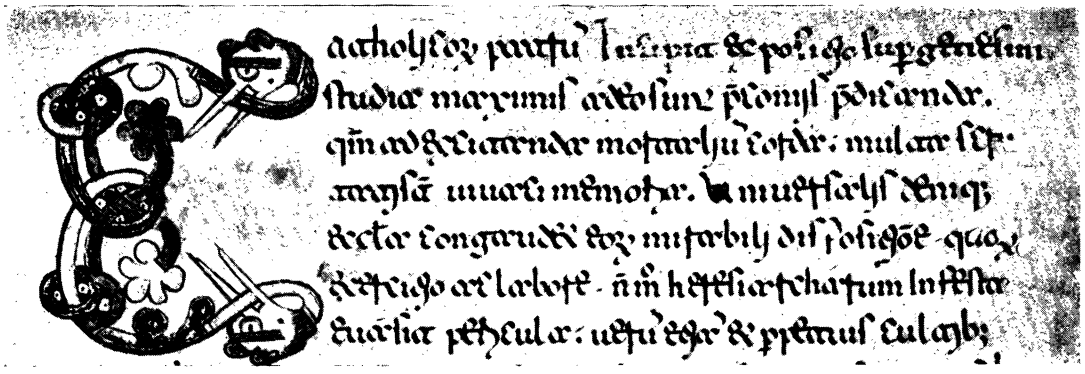


MS. Oxford Canon. Bibl. lat. 61 (Zara) saec. xi ex.
Evangeliarium.

(crucifixum: Surrexit non est hic,
ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum. Sed
ite dicite discip*u*lis eius et petro,)

Script. Benev., pl. 74.

Facsimile No. 12.



MS. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 (Bari) saec. xii in.
Comment. in Octateuchum.

(Catholicor*um* patru*m* Incipit expositio sup*er* genesim.
studia maximis adeo sunt p*rae*coniis p*rae*dicanda,
q*uoni*a*m* ad excitanda mortalium corda, multa scru
tati s*un*t uiuaci memoria. Uniuersalis deniq*ue*
eccles*i*a congaudet eor*um* mirabili dispositio*ne* quor*um*
exercitio ac labore, no*n* mo*do* heresiarcharum infesta
euasit pericula, ueru*m* etia*m* et p*er*petuis cultib*us*)
Script. Benev., pl. 85.

Facsimile No. 13.



Initial taken from MS. Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii. Sallust.

› follow Plate VII

MSS. OF THE BARI TYPE

Owing to their possession of all or some of the above characteristics the following MSS. may be regarded as belonging to this group, the geographical extent of which comprises Dalmatia as well as the south-eastern portion of the Italian peninsula.[1]

Bari Cathedral. Exultet Rolls and Benedictio Fontis.
Berlin Theol. Quart. 278 (Zara). Evangeliarium.
Bisceglie Capitol. Evangeliarium.
Capua Biblioteca del Seminario.
Acts and Epistles.
Augustinus, Homiliarium.
Cattaro, S. Chiara. Fragm. of Pontifical.[2]
Cava 6. Gregor. M., Cura Pastoralis.
London Egerton 2889. Vitae SS.
Monte Cassino 343, part II. Origen–Rufinus, Periarchon.
s. n. débris of Virgil's Aen. iii–xii.
Naples IV F 3. Ovid, Metam.
VIII B 6. Vitae SS.
S. Martino 14. Hymnarium.
Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 (Bari). Commentary on the Octateuch.
Canon. Bibl. lat. 61 (Zara). Evangeliarium.
Canon. Lit. lat. 277 (Zara). Horae B.V.M., &c.
Canon. Class. lat. 50. Virgil, with scholia.
Ragusa Biblioteca dei PP. Domenicani.
Haymo, Expos. in Ep. Pauli (fragm.).
Expos. in Vet. Test. (fragm.).
Rome Casanat. 1101 (A II 32). Evangelia.[3]

[1] See above, p. 56 sq. and pp. 60 sqq.

[2] The Franciscan Father B. Rode, the present custodian of the fragments, kindly furnished me with tracings.

[3] Probably from Bari itself. The script is the pure Bari type. The quire marks are strikingly similar to those found in Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175, which comes from Bari. Vatic. Ottob. lat. 1406 was written in Monte Cassino but the MS. has Bari characteristics.

Rome Vallicell. E 28. Epist. Pauli.
Rome Vatic. lat. 3327. Sallust.
Vatic. lat. 10645, foll. 3–6. Missal.
Barb. lat. 160 (IX 29). Medicine, fol. 248, l. 12 sq.
Borgian. lat. 339 (Ossero). Evangeliarium.
Ottob. lat. 296. Evangeliarium.
Ottob. lat. 576, foll. 123–195. Missal.
Pal. lat. 178. Fly-leaf. Liturgical.
Traù Capitol. Evangeliarium.
Vienna Univ. Inst. f. öster. Geschichtsforschung. Liturgical fragments from Traù (Dalmatia).

Probably to be affiliated with this group are these MSS.: Eton College Bl. 6. 5, Maximinianus, Ovid, &c.; Padua Univ. 878, Eusebius (fragm.); Ragusa Libr. of the Dominican friars (1) Vetus Testamentum 2 Reg. (fragm.), (2) Homiliar. (1 fol.), (3) Homiliar. (2 foll.), (4) Sentent. PP. (4 foll.); Vatic. lat. 1468, Glossarium.

CHAPTER VIII

ABBREVIATIONS

1. VALUE AND SIGNIFICANCE.
2. GENERAL HISTORY.
3. ABBREVIATION-SIGNS.
 (*a*) General.
 (*b*) Beneventan.
4. *m*-STROKE.
5. BENEVENTAN ABBREVIATIONS.
 (*a*) Stages.
 (*b*) List of abbreviated words and syllables.
 (*c*) Detailed discussion of special abbreviations.

A KNOWLEDGE of the various systems of abbreviations is indispensable for the mere correct reading of Latin MSS. A familiarity with their origin and development is eminently useful not only in detecting sources of corruption in the text, but at the same time as a check upon extravagance of conjecture in textual emendation.[1] Besides these services to philology, abbreviations may be useful in three ways: namely, as aids in dating MSS., in placing them, and in throwing light on the immediate or mediate archetype.

To date a MS. by means of the abbreviations is made possible by the fact that they undergo changes and differ in different ages. They are less frequent in the older, more numerous in the more recent MSS. With time their character

[1] Cf. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 208 sqq.; *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, i. 11 sqq.; Lindsay, *Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule MSS.* (St. Andrews University Publications, no. v, Oxford 1908) pp. 1 sqq.

grows more varied, more complex, more differentiated. And since with the help of dated MSS. we can determine with some degree of precision the period in which one form or type of abbreviation was in use and the period marking the arrival of another form or type, we win important and objective criteria for ascertaining the age of undated MSS. I illustrate by some concrete examples from Beneventan MSS. The system of abbreviation by means of suprascript letters is practically never used before the 11th century, when we first encounter such forms as ṕ, a͛p, y͛p = *pri*, *pra*, *pru*, a͛c, ċ = *cra*, *cri*, &c., g̊, g̊ = *igitur*, *ergo*. Abbreviations like oīs, o͞i, oi͞bus, oīe, for *omnis*, *omni*, *omnibus*, *omne*, represent a type which does not occur in MSS. of the 9th and 10th centuries, when o͞mis, o͞mi, omībus, o͞me are the forms consistently employed. The presence, therefore, of this type of abbreviation, or of the type with suprascript letters, furnishes a *terminus a quo*. An instructive instance, again, is furnished by abbreviations of the verb-ending *tur*. Until the middle of the 10th century the abbreviation of *tur* is not different from that of *ter*. To make the differentiation *tur* received the form ꝛ² (*ter* being represented by ꝛ̄) a form which it preserved for three-quarters of a century, when it was supplanted by ꝛ̲.[1] Thus the three stages of this abbreviation become valuable criteria for dating.

Although it is true in general that the older MSS. show fewer abbreviations than the more recent, the number of the abbreviations is no unfailing test. For it must be remembered that a liturgical book used in reading aloud or a MS. *de luxe* may purposely refrain from abbreviating and yet be very recent. On the other hand a MS. treating such technical subjects as law, grammar, or medicine, may be very old and yet full of abbreviated words.

With his lessons in writing the scribe was taught his stock of abbreviations. The form of the letters and the style of the abbreviations went hand in hand; both reflected local usage, the traditions of the school. And just as we distinguish

[1] Cf. below, pp. 217 sqq.

a number of different scripts we also distinguish diverse systems of abbreviation. Thus if a MS. has throughout its pages nr̄ for *noster*, aū̄m for *autem*, or pp̄tr for *propter*, we may be certain that it is of Visigothic origin or the slavish copy of a Visigothic original. If it abbreviates *eius*, *autem*, *enim*, *con*, and *per* by means of ɜ, ꝫ, ⁊, ɔ, and p, we must conclude that it was written in England or Ireland or in some Continental centre where Insular methods were for a time at home, as in Bobbio, St. Gall, Fulda, or Würzburg. So likewise we think of Beneventan or South Italian schools if we encounter ꝯ for *eius* and c̄r̄ for *tur* in MSS. later than the 9th century.

But a scribe of one centre often copied MSS. written in another, and thus necessarily met with abbreviations that were foreign to him. If he copied mechanically or nodded, as he often did, he allowed foreign abbreviations to creep into his text, thereby furnishing us a means for detecting the nature of his original. The 9th-century Beneventan scribe of the MS. Vatic. lat. 3320, containing a glossary, occasionally uses the unmistakably Spanish forms aū̄m for *autem*, sr̄hl for *Israhel*. We are at a loss to account for these 'Spanish symptoms' in a South Italian MS. till we discover that the glossary has frequent excerpts from the works of the Spanish writer, Isidore of Seville. An examination of the abbreviations of Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi suffices to convince us that many of them are not of the traditional Beneventan stock. The constant use of symbols like ⁊ = *enim*, 7 = *et*, ÷ = *est*, h̄ = *hoc*, ·i· = *id est*, q̱ = *quod*, ſ᷑ = *sed*, ꝺ = *secundum* and of the form nō̄e = *nomine* speaks for Insular influence. By a fortunate coincidence the Insular origin of the archetype can be attested by other means. There is in the MS. the word *confitus*, where the sense requires and the original doubtless had *consitus*. The error must have arisen from the resemblance between the Insular ligature for *si* and the Beneventan ligature for *fi*.[1] The German copy of the

[1] Cf. Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, p. 130 (*Abhand. d. K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* xxi (1898) 599–731); 2nd edition, p. 124.

Chronica Monasterii Casinensis of Leo Ostiensis (MS. Munich 4646) has often *qui* where the original had *eius*. This substitution could be explained by assuming an original having *eius* abbreviated by means of ꝙ, which resembles abbreviated *qui*[1]—in other words a Beneventan original. As a matter of fact, the MS. from which the German scribe copied was no other than the autograph of Leo himself, written in Monte Cassino between 1098 and 1106, which now forms one of the treasures of the Munich library (MS. lat. 4623).[2]

So much to outline briefly the practical utility of a study of abbreviations.

THE GENERAL HISTORY OF ABBREVIATIONS

It is advisable to take a rapid survey of the general development of Latin abbreviations before discussing those used in the scriptoria of Southern Italy. The purpose of this introduction is to make clear the essential and intrinsic differences between abbreviations by suspension and those by contraction; to point out the pagan character of the former and the Christian character of the latter; to show the vital relation between the 'Nomina Sacra' and the spread of contractions; to emphasize the conservatism displayed in the forms of the abbreviations for *bus* and *que*; and to indicate the part played by the abbreviations in legal MSS. (Notae Juris) and their more general adoption through the wide influence exercised by Insular writing centres. The main source for the following remarks is L. Traube, whose *Nomina Sacra* will henceforth be the basis as well as the model of every work on abbreviations.

Latin abbreviations are constructed on the three principles of suspension, contraction, and special symbols.

By suspension we understand an abbreviation that leaves

[1] Cf. below, p. 199.

[2] Cf. *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* vii. 556.

out the end of the word. From inscriptions we are acquainted with the forms:

M· = *M(ARCUS)*
TI· = *TI(BERIUS)*
IMP· = *IMP(ERATOR)*
FILIAB· = *FILIAB(US)*
LIBERTISQ· = *LIBERTISQ(UE)*

Similar forms in MSS. are:

$\overline{\text{a}}$ = *a(ut)*
$\overline{\text{au}}$ = *au(tem)*
ta$\overline{\text{m}}$ = *tam(en)*
hominib; = *hominib(us)*
deniq; = *deniq(ue)*

Suspension may be applied to different syllables of the word, e. g. $\overline{\text{tm}}$ = *t(a)-m(en)*, $\overline{\text{pp}}$ = *p(ro)-p(ter)*, $\overline{\text{pcp}}$ = *p(rin)-c(i)-p(e)*. This corresponds to BN· = *B(E)N(EFICIARIUS)* and similar abbreviations of inscriptions. This method, which left the reader to supply the endings, could have prevailed only so long as Latin was a living language.

Contractions differ from suspensions in that they leave out some part in the body of the word, but retain the ending. Examples of contractions are:

d$\overline{\text{n}}$i = *d(omi)ni*
a$\overline{\text{u}}$m = *au(te)m*
m$\overline{\text{ia}}$m = *mi(sericordi)am*
s$\overline{\text{cl}}$m = *s(ae)c(u)l(u)m*

This method, which by indicating the ending eliminated possible confusion, was more acceptable when the hold upon Latin had become insecure.

Abbreviations by special symbols are few in number. They originate in the 'Notae Tironianae',[1] or shorthand system of the ancients.

[1] On the Tironian symbols for *con, autem, et, eius,* and *est,* see Chatelain, *Introduction à la lecture des notes tironiennes* (Paris 1900) pp. 8, 41, 69, and 72.

In somewhat modified form some of them appear in the 'Notae Juris' or abbreviations used in legal books. The symbols are :

ↄ = *con*
ↄↄ = *contra*
7 = *et*
ɜ = *eius*
÷ = *est*
ꝛ = *autem*

All the abbreviations which we shall meet illustrate one or other of these three principles.

The abbreviations in the oldest examples of Latin writing are, like those in Roman inscriptions, suspensions. If we except legal books and other technical treatises, contractions are unknown even in the 5th- and 6th-century MSS. of pagan authors, as is seen from the celebrated palimpsest of Cicero's *De re publica*, or the Parisinus or Vindobonensis of Livy, or the Palatinus of Virgil, not to mention many others. In fact, apart from such forms as P·R· = *POPULUS ROMANUS* and other abbreviations of names and titles which might occur in inscriptions, B· = *BUS* and Q· = *QUE* are practically the only abbreviations found in these MSS.—and they are suspensions. The entry of contractions into Latin calligraphy as something distinct from the abbreviations previously used, dates, as Traube has convincingly shown, from the time of the translation of the Bible from Greek and Hebrew into Latin. The words thus abbreviated were few in number and of a religious character. They were *Deus*, *Dominus*, *Iesus*, *Christus*, *Spiritus*. The contracted forms of this small group of 'Nomina Sacra' were not abbreviations in the proper sense of the word. It was not to save time or space, but out of a sense of reverence that the word for God was not written out in the original Hebrew and Greek. A certain mystery and reticence attached to the holy words. The Latin translator tried to reproduce this religious effect. He transcribed $\overline{\text{ΘC}}$ = ΘΕΟC with $\overline{\text{DS}}$ = *DEUS*, $\overline{\text{ΠNA}}$ = ΠΝΕΥΜΑ with $\overline{\text{SPS}}$ =

SPIRITUS, $\overline{\theta\text{Y}} = \theta\epsilon\text{OY}$ with $\overline{\text{DI}} = DEI$. Thus unconsciously the 'Nomina Sacra' became the exponents and carriers of the principle of contraction. This is fully testified by numerous MSS. of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries, which besides B· and Q· (= *BUS* and *QUE*) show only one sort of abbreviations, namely the contractions of the 'Nomina Sacra'. It may be said that the history of the 'Nomina Sacra' during the three centuries after their arrival practically amounts to a history of abbreviations during that period. As the books then copied were almost exclusively of a religious character, contraction became a characteristic of Christian calligraphy, just as suspension had been of pagan inscriptions and MSS.

The small group of 'Nomina Sacra' was soon extended. In the 5th century the form $\overline{\text{SCS}} = SANCTUS$, modelled upon $\overline{\text{SPS}} = SPIRITUS$, came into use. A century later, contractions of the oblique cases of *noster* followed in the wake of *Dominus*, e.g., $\overline{\text{DNI}}$ $\overline{\text{NI}} = DOMINI\ NOSTRI$. We even begin to find the contracted forms of these religious words where they are used in a profane or non-Christian sense, as *Dominus* for Caesar, or *deus* referring to any pagan deity, and *spiritus* meaning breath.

The transition from suspension to contraction probably came about in connexion with the abbreviation of formal titles: a form like $\overline{\text{EP}}$ giving way to $\overline{\text{EPS}}$ for *Episcopus*, or $\overline{\text{DIAC}}$ becoming $\overline{\text{DIACS}}$ or $\overline{\text{DIACI}}$ for *Diaconus* or *Diaconi*, $\overline{\text{PB}}$ changing to $\overline{\text{PBR}}$ for *Presbiter*—examples of which are to be found in Italian MSS. and inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries. In the same way we begin to find $\overline{\text{PPO}}$ (*praefectus praetorio*) for the ancient suspension P· P·; and contractions gradually take the place of suspensions in the abbreviations used in the legal books. The form s· is supplanted by $\overline{\text{sa}}$ (*sententia*); pec· by $\overline{\text{pec}}$a (*pecunia*), off· by offo (*officio*), &c.

Contractions arise for such semi-religious words as *omnipotens*, *gratia*, *gloria*, *ecclesia*, *saecula*, &c. By the 8th century, when the different minuscule scripts are already established, contraction has become the prevailing principle on which new

abbreviations are created, the existing suspensions being gradually driven from the field.

But long before the rise of minuscule scripts we find in uncial and semi-uncial MSS. the occasional use of abbreviations that have their source in a class of MSS. where abbreviations abounded. The abbreviations of the legal MSS. deserve particular attention.[1] Although they illustrate no new principle they form a class by themselves, with a curious history.[2] It would be impossible to understand the origin of many of the abbreviations of minuscule MSS. if these legal books and the Notae Juris had not come down to us. Directly or indirectly the following abbreviations or types of abbreviation go back to such MSS. :

(1) the three groups of abbreviations of pronouns, prepositions, and particles, as :

p, ꝑ, p̄, p' = *per*, *pro*, *prae*, *post* (*pos*, *pus*)
q̄, ꝙ, qᷤ, qᷣ = *quae*, *quod*, *quia*, *quam*
h̄, ḣ = *haec*, *hoc* ;

(2) the common word-endings M' = *mus*, T' = *tur*, M̃ = *men*, T̃ = *ter* ;

(3) the system of abbreviation by suprascript letters ;

(4) the special symbols based on Notae Tironianae, ɔ = *con*, ɔɔ = *contra*.

All of these elements play a significant rôle in the abbreviations found in minuscule MSS.

The transmission of these abbreviations, if we could only trace it more securely, would throw much light upon the

[1] I refer to such MSS. as the Gaius of Verona (Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*², pl. 18) and the Vatican Codex Theodosianus (the marginalia). On the abbreviations found in the marginalia of the latter MS. see E. O. Winstedt in *Classical Philology*, i (1906) 399 sqq. and W. M. Lindsay, 'The Notae Juris in Vatic. Reg. 886,' in *Mélanges Chatelain*, pp. 155 sqq.

[2] In them we find the three principles illustrated: S=*SED*, QQ=*QUOQUE*, N=*NOSTER*, suspensions; HDES=*HEREDES*, OTET=*OPORTET*, N with a superior *a*=*Nostra*, contractions; ɔ=*con*, ɔɔ=*contra*, Notae Tironianae.

relations between the schools. Their history did not run a smooth course. Their use in legal books, owing to the confusion they caused, was more than once forbidden during the reigns of the emperors Theodosius (A. D. 438) and Justinian (A. D. 553).[1] Into literary MSS. they had practically not entered. Knowledge of them, however, was never lost among Italian notaries; here and there even a calligraphic scribe shows his acquaintance with them.[2] But their influence was on the whole hardly felt after their proscription, at least in Italy and in most French schools. It was in centres far from Rome, where distance practically annulled the force of the decree forbidding their use, that the Notae Juris and Notae Tironianae continued to flourish.[3] Those centres, Traube conjectures, were in south-west Britain, the centres whence the Irish received their introduction to Latin MSS. This circumstance would explain how the Irish scribe of the 7th and 8th centuries happens to use abbreviations which are based on Notae Tironianae and Notae Juris. Wherever the Irish script was used, on the Islands or on the Continent, there we always find such abbreviations.[4] And there can be no doubt whatever that the revival of this large class of abbreviations is due to centres in which the Insular script was employed. This view is supported by the negative evidence of Visigothic MSS. The

[1] Cf. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 241 sq.; *Vorles. und Abhandl.* i. 143; Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*[2], p. xxxv.

[2] Cf. Verona LIII and Vatic. lat. 1322 in 6th-century semi-uncial of the school of Verona. A later example is furnished by Vercelli 183 saec. viii. Some of its abbreviations must go back to such old sources.

[3] Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 243.

[4] Cf. Traube in *Neues Archiv*, xxvi. 238. The theory recently defended by Steffens which makes Bobbio the home of the Insular abbreviations is, to say the least, improbable. If Bobbio could leave a permanent mark upon all Insular MSS. how does it happen that it made no visible impression upon MSS. from neighbouring centres? Cf. *Lat. Pal.*[2], p. xxxvii and *Mélanges Chatelain*, pp. 244 sqq. On the Bobbio MSS. see W. M. Lindsay, 'The Bobbio Scriptorium,' in *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, xxvi (1909) 293 sqq., and *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (St. Andrews University Publications, no. vi, Oxford 1910) pp. 30 sqq.

Irish founded no schools in Spain ; their script never influenced the Spanish. It is accordingly no mere coincidence that the Spanish abbreviations are on the whole free from anything that recalls the Notae Juris or Tironian signs. To some extent the same may be said of the Beneventan abbreviations. The ancient stock shows very few traces of Notae Juris. Such abbreviations as p̲, e̅e̅, q̅m̅, &c., were the common property of French and Italian schools. But the bulk of the abbreviations used in Irish MSS. are conspicuously absent in the Beneventan, a fact which is sufficiently accounted for by distance and mutual independence. For, while most other schools soon came under Insular influence, the Visigothic and Beneventan remained unaffected. Thus it happens that these two schools have preserved the Italian or Roman tradition. Of the two, it is safe to say that the Beneventan retained that tradition in greater purity.

THE ABBREVIATION-SIGNS

To denote suspension or contraction the abbreviation-sign is used. There are two essentially distinct kinds of abbreviation-signs : one made by a point or combination of points ; the other by a stroke. The stroke is usually *over* the abbreviated word, the point *after* it. The stroke belongs more properly to contraction, the point to suspension.[1] The points in P· R· = *POPULUS ROMANUS*, in B· = *BUS*, in Q· = *QUE*, correspond to the stroke in D̅S̅ = *DEUS*, S̅P̅S̅ = *SPIRITUS*. The contracted forms of the ' Nomina Sacra ', as we have seen, were not abbreviations in the strict sense of the word ; so the stroke over these words originally served to make them conspicuous and to call attention to them, rather than to indicate that they were abbreviated. This use of the stroke is not a novelty. In Greek as well as in Latin MSS. we often find it placed over letters or unshortened words to distinguish them from the rest of the text, where we would employ different

[1] Cf. Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 45 sqq.

types. With the spread of the principle of contraction, the sign of a contraction, namely the stroke, came more and more into use. Moreover, the convenience of the stroke in connexion with the small-sized letters of minuscule, as opposed to the point, which was employed with the large letters of capitals and uncials, doubtless had much to do with its universal acceptance. It is instructive to find the point, or both the point and the stroke, used to indicate the contractions of the 'Nomina Sacra' —a usage pointing to the transition from suspension to contraction.[1] On the other hand, when the principle of suspension had practically given way to that of contraction, we find suspensions marked with the contraction-stroke.[2]

In uncial and semi-uncial MSS. the form of the abbreviation-sign is generally a horizontal line for a contraction;[3] and a point, comma, apostrophe, or line through the final letter or letters, for a suspension, e.g. $\overline{\text{EE}} = ESSE$, $\text{T}' = TUR$, $\text{S}' = SED$, $\text{T}\not\text{R} = TRANS$.[4] Syllabic suspension, however, is marked in these MSS. by a horizontal line, e.g. $\overline{\text{AT}} = AUTEM$.

In early minuscule MSS. contractions and suspensions (excepting occasionally *bus* and *que*) are often denoted by the same type of wavy stroke. Certain suspensions are denoted by an oblique line, straight or sinuous, sometimes intricate, intersecting an extension of the last stroke of certain letters (especially *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r*, in *lus*, *lum*, *mus*, *nus*, *mum*, *num*, *rum*), or crossing the tall shaft of others.

[1] Traube, ibid., pp. 239 sqq.

[2] The veteran suspensions *bus* and *que* are represented in the old 8th-century Corbie MSS. of the ꝯ type by means of an oblique cross-stroke through the shafts of *b* and *q*—a practice which crops up in a few early Beneventan MSS.

[3] In the more recent type of uncial MSS. the horizontal stroke is finished off at either end in some ornamental way. Occasionally a dot is placed above the stroke.

[4] The apostrophe and the oblique line through the letter are found in legal MSS. Here too we find the suspensions $\overline{\text{P}} = PRAE$ and $\overline{\text{Q}} = QUAE$ marked not with a point but with the horizontal stroke. This, however, is a device adopted to avoid confusion with the signs for *per* and *pro*, *quod* and *quam*, &c.

The Beneventan Abbreviation-signs

In the oldest Beneventan MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries contractions and suspensions are indifferently indicated either by a horizontal line more or less wavy, or by a sinuous vertical line resembling reversed *s*, or by a sign like the arabic number 3, or the same number inverted. The vertical flourish is sometimes made obliquely. Besides these an *s*-like flourish or a semicolon is used with *b* and *q*.

By the end of the 9th century, when the script has become more regular, there is more care and uniformity in the shape of the abbreviation-sign. Henceforth most abbreviations are denoted by a horizontal line. In many MSS. of the 10th and early 11th century abbreviations are marked by two or more horizontal lines parallel to each other.[1] Another form of the stroke appears in the recurring suspensions, *-rum*,  [2] (case-ending) and *-runt*,  (verb-ending). It is a wavy stroke, resembling reversed *s*, amounting in reality to a calligraphic modification of the vertical stroke used to denote suspension.[3] The apostrophe was introduced about the middle of the 10th century, with *t* to denote *tur*, occasionally with other consonants to represent *us*. Lastly the 2-shaped symbol was used, sporadically in the 9th and 10th centuries, consistently after the beginning of the 11th, especially with *m* and *t* to signify *mur* and *tur*. The abbreviation-sign which we chiefly connect with Visigothic minuscule MSS., namely, the stroke with the dot above it (which, however, also occurs in many non-Visigothic MSS.), is used sporadically in a few 9th-century MSS. and

[1] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, plates 51, 59, and 62. This is a mere affectation or mannerism and has no special significance.

[2] This is the form of *r* found in the ligature *or*. In the abbreviation of *eius* and of *quod* (cf. below, p. 166) the same sign is used, placed obliquely to cut the letters *i* and *q*.

[3] Cf. Anglo-Saxon *tur*, and the Spanish manner of abbreviating *num*, *tum*, *rum* by the vertical stroke through *n*, *t*, *r*.

regularly in several MSS. of the Bari type of the 11th and 12th centuries.[1]

In form, then, the abbreviation-signs present no great variety.[2] They are: (1) the horizontal line (or two or more lines parallel to each other); (2) the semicolon; (3) the reversed *s*; (4) the apostrophe; and (5) the 2-shaped symbol. The line and dot are, on the whole, too rare to be included. Of these five the horizontal line is the most frequent, the *s*-shaped sign the least frequent.

The abbreviation-signs just mentioned are not used indiscriminately. Only certain of them are interchangeable. From the point of view of their significance or value they may be divided into four kinds:

1. General signs to denote any suspension or contraction. For this purpose the usual sign was the horizontal stroke (or parallel strokes); but a number of MSS. (saec. xi–xiii) employ the 2-shaped sign as well,[3] e. g.
 aū, aũ = *autem*; ī, ĩ, = *in*;
 fuēr, fuẽr = *fuerunt*; sū, sũ = *sunt*;
 sācdos, sacdos = *sacerdos*; adūsus, adũsus = *aduersus*.
2. General signs used with particular letters to denote particular abbreviations. Examples are given below.

[1] See above, p. 111 sq. and p. 150.

[2] I disregard the forms found in the most recent Benev. MSS. of the 13th century.

[3] The following examples selected from fifteen different MSS. will serve to illustrate the point. Their number could easily be increased. The 2-shaped sign is to be supplied in each case over the abbreviated forms. Monte Cassino 446 saec. x/xi, st=*sunt*: Benevent. VI 33 saec. x/xi, uix=*uixit*, r=*runt*: Monte Cassino 451 saec. xi in., s=*sunt*, u=*uer*: Monte Cassino 133 saec. xi, sic=*sicut*, s=*sunt*: Vatic. lat. 3549 saec. xi ex., sps=*spiritus*, au=*autem*, i=*in*: Vatic. Ottob. lat. 1939 saec. xi ex., sict=*sicut*, st=*sunt*, rt=*runt*: Naples VI E 43 saec. xi/xii, sic=*sicut*, u=*uer*, fr=*frater*, r=*runt*: Naples VI B 11 saec. xi/xii, sic=*sicut*, r=*runt*: Rome Vallicell. c 9 saec. xii, sic=*sicut*, r=*runt*, u=*uer*: Vienna 1188 saec. xii, r=*runt*: Monte Cassino 640 saec. xii/xiii, sic=*sicut*: Vatic. Barb. lat. 603 (XIII 12) saec. xii/xiii, s=*sunt*: Vatic. lat. 4981 saec. xiii, sic, sict=*sicut*, st=*sunt*: Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 342 saec. xiii, sic=*sicut*: Monte Cassino 440 saec. xiii ex., dr=*dicitur*, nr=*noster*, c=*cetera*, u=*uer*.

3. Particular signs used only with certain letters to denote particular abbreviations, e. g.

the reversed *s* with *r*, ꝛ (verb-ending) = *runt*; with *r*, ꝛ = *rum*; with *q*, q̾ = *quod*; with *i*, in ei̾ = *eius*.[1]

4. Particular signs used with any letter to denote one and the same abbreviation, e. g.

(*a*) the semicolon = *us* with any letter except *q*, when it denotes *ue*.[2]

(*b*) the apostrophe = *us* with any letter except *q*.[3]

The following examples illustrate the use of the general abbreviation-sign with particular letters to denote particular abbreviations.[4] Some of the letters thus marked represent entire words, the rest only syllables. The stroke with *a*, *d*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *l*, *n*, *p*, *q*, and *s* represents the words *aut*, *de*, *est*, *haec*, *in*, *uel*, *non*, *prae* (*per*), *quae* (*qui*), and *sunt*. In the case of the tall letters *d*, *h*, *i* (*longa*), and *l*, the stroke intersects the shaft. The cross-stroke through the shaft of *p* and *q* gives *per* and *qui*, above them gives *prae* and *quae*. Except in *aut* and *haec*, these abbreviations retain their value even if they form part of a word, e. g. potē = *potest*, đinde = *deinde*, īterest = *interest*, n̄cupare = *nuncupare*,[5] p̄est = *praeest*, p̾fecit = *perfecit*, q̄rere = *quaerere*, inq̾t = *inquit*, possⁿ = *possunt*.

The following list includes the common and typical abbreviated syllables. Those indicated by a horizontal stroke are given first, then those indicated by the 2-shaped sign.

b. A horizontal line through shaft of middle *b* = *ber*:

liƀtas, uƀrima = *libertas*, *uberrima*;

through shaft of final *b* = *ber* or *bis*:

imƀ = *imber*; noƀ, urƀ, daƀ = *nobis*, *urbis*, *dabis*.

[1] The wavy line used with some letters for *er*, &c., comes in late and is a foreign element, e. g. *f*=*ser*.

[2] The fact that *que* retained its old abbreviation is doubtless due to the impossibility of the combination *qus*.

[3] In some MSS. the apostrophe denotes *s* as well as *us*. Cf. p. 213 sq.

[4] Cf. division 2, above. [5] The substitution of *u* for *o* is not uncommon.

c. Over initial or middle *c* = *con* (*cen*) :
c̄tra, inc̄tinens, innoc̄tia = *contra*, *incontinens*, *innocentia*;
over final *c* (verb-ending) = *cit* :
fac̄, dic̄, cresc̄ = *facit*, *dicit*, *crescit*.

g. Over initial or middle *g* = *gen* :
ḡtes, arḡtum = *gentes*, *argentum* ;
over final *g* (verb-ending) = *git* :
perḡ = *pergit*.

l. Through shaft of middle *l* = *ul* or *el* :
saecl̓a, famul̓o, mul̓tis, angl̓i = *saecula*, *famulo*, *multis*, *angeli* ;
through shaft of final *l* = *lis* :
expugnabil̓ = *expugnabilis*.

m. Over initial, middle, or final *m* = *men* (*min*) :
m̄tes, monum̄to, tam̄ = *mentes*, *monumento*, *tamen* ;
nom̄a = *nomina*.

r. Over final *r* (verb-ending) = *runt* (occasionally *rint*) :
fuer̄ = *fuerunt* (*fuerint*).

t. Over initial, middle, or final *t* = *ter* :
c̄tius, inc̄na, mac̄ = *tertius*, *interna*, *mater* ;
over final *t* (saec. viii–x) = *tur* :
dici c̄ = *dicitur*, &c.

u. Over initial or middle *u* = *uer* :
ūbum, adūsus = *uerbum*, *aduersus* ;
over final *u* (verb-ending) = *uit* :
rogaū, iū = *rogauit*, *iuit*.

x. Over final *x* (verb-ending) = *xit* :
dix̄, affix̄ = *dixit*, *affixit*, &c.

The 2-shaped sign is used with the following letters :

c. Over initial *c* = *cur* (in recent MSS.) :
c̓auerit = *curauerit* ;
over middle *c* = *cer* :
sac̓dos = *sacerdos*.

m. Over final *m* = *mur*:
mereaṁ = *mereamur*.

r. Over final *r* = *runt* (in verb-ending):
fuer̃ = *fuerunt* (occasionally *fuerint*).

t. Over *t* initial, middle, or final (chiefly over final) = *tur*:
c̃pe, nocc̃nos, dec̃ = *turpe*, *nocturnos*, *detur*.

The above examples of abbreviated syllables make it evident that the abbreviation-sign has a shifting and relative value, depending first upon the letter with which it is used, secondly upon the position of that letter, and thirdly, as in the case of *ter* and *tur*, upon the age of the MS. in which it occurs. Here may be the place to raise a question of terminology. After the beginning of the 11th century Beneventan MSS. abbreviate *mur* and *tur* by means of the 2-sign over *m* and *t*. In a number of MSS. of the same period *runt*, *cer*, and *uer* are frequently abbreviated by the same 2-sign over *r*, *c*, and *u* (fuer̃, sac̃dos, ũsus). In some palaeographical treatises this sign is spoken of as a *ur*-sign.[1] If we accept the expression, we are at a loss to explain the use of a *ur*-sign to denote *unt* and *er*. If, on the other hand, we bear in mind that the MSS. which abbreviated *runt*, *cer*, and *uer* by means of the 2-sign also use the ordinary horizontal stroke over *c*, *u*, and *r* to denote the same syllables, we shall realize that the 2-sign here is a general sign of abbreviation, performing the same function as the horizontal stroke. In the 10th century the horizontal stroke with *t* had to do service for *tur*, just as with *u* it did service for *uer* or *uit*. When the 2-sign was introduced it was regarded not so much in the light of a *ur*-sign as in the light of a new abbreviation-sign. Proof of this is furnished by Monte Cassino 446 saec. x/xi, in which *sunt* is abbreviated by the 2-sign over *st*, instead of by the customary horizontal line. In this MS., moreover, *mur* is

[1] Cf. Paoli, *Le abbreviature nella paleografia latina del medio evo* (Florence 1891); A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica*, Serie i, Lieferung x, Taf. 2: Lindsay, *Contractions*, &c., p. 51; Steffens, *Lat. Pal.* (2nd edit.) p. xxxix.

abbreviated by m̃, but *tur* regularly by ꝛ́ still. The new sign has not yet been applied to *t* to make the distinction between *tus* and *tur*, but it is already used to mark an ordinary contraction. And in a still older MS., Paris lat. 335 (part ii) saec. x, which abbreviates neither *mur* nor *tur*, the 2-sign is used again and again over *t* to denote *ter*, and over *rt* to denote *runt*.[1] From these examples, and from those quoted above (p. 165, note 3), it is plain that in Beneventan at least the sign may not be called a *ur*-sign. To speak of a *ur*-sign is to attribute value to the sign as a sign, whereas the fact is that it had *ur* value only with *m* and *t* (rarely with any other letter) and that within a given period—just as it had *unt* value with *r*, and *er* value with *c* and *u*. If we are not to divorce elements which have no separate existence, it seems best to speak of abbreviations of *tur*, *runt*, *cer*, *con*, and *men*, rather than of *er*-signs or of *on* and *en* syllabic symbols. That the scribe did not think in terms of *ur*- or *en*-signs, but in terms of the syllable to be abbreviated, is clearly illustrated by the following. We find *runt* abbreviated in the same MS. by three different signs: r̄, r̃, and ꝛ̃.[2] The signs evidently were a matter of indifference, as no confusion was possible.[3] On the other hand, where ambiguity could arise, different forms of the abbreviation-sign were used to make the necessary differentiation. So in the 11th century we find that after a series of attempts fixed equivalents were attained by the different signs in connexion with *m* and *t*, e. g. m̄ = *men*, m̃ = *mur*, m̀ = *mus*; ꝛ̄ = *ter*, ꝛ̃ = *tur*, ꝛ́ = *tus*.

Here it may also be permissible to draw an illustration from Spanish calligraphy, as instructive in showing how misleading the accidental resemblance of an abbreviation-sign

[1] The 2-sign over *t* denotes *ter* in two 11th-century documents mentioned below, p. 225, n. 3.

[2] Cf. Vatic. lat. 3741 saec. xi ex.

[3] The ending *runt* could not be confused with *rum*, since abbreviated *runt* used the ordinary form of *r*, and *rum* the modified uncial form found in *or* and *ar*. See above, p. 166.

to a letter may be, and how essential it is to trace the history of a sign in order to interpret it correctly. Most Visigothic MSS. abbreviate *bus* and *que* by an *s*-like flourish placed to the right above *b* and *q*. The earliest Spanish MSS.[1] use as a rule the semicolon above the letters—a usage which we meet elsewhere, it being a feature of various schools of minuscule. Some 9th-century Visigothic MSS. show both the semicolon and the flourish, used even by the same scribe.[2] In fact there can be little doubt that the *s*-like flourish, the form typical of the more recent MSS., is a graphic development of the semicolon, being nothing but the point and comma made in one stroke, without removing the pen. By analogy with b̑ = *bus*, the *s*-like flourish came to be used with other letters to denote *us*. With *q*, however, it retained its old value of *ue*. But the resemblance of the flourish to the letter *s* has proved a stumbling-block. In the best-known text-book in Spanish palaeography we read à propos of this point: 'La letra que más usualmente se sobrepuso fué la *s*, á la cual se da el valor de *us* como en las palabras exercit̑, quib̑, i̇t̑,[3] que se leen *exercitus*, *quibus*, *justus*. Cuando esta letra aparece sobre la *q*, tiene valor de *ue* como en los siguientes ejemplos: atq̑, namq̑, deniq̑, que deben interpretarse *atque*, *namque*, *denique*.'[4]

Here the abbreviation-sign is explained as a genuine letter *s*, equivalent to *us* when used with most letters, but to *ue* with *q*. This is the interpretation given also by Wattenbach[5], Delisle[6], and the editors of the *Palaeographical Society*[7]. Indeed,

[1] Cf. Monte Cassino 4, Monte Cassino 19, London Egerton 1934.

[2] Cf. Madrid Univ. 31, Bibl. Acad. Hist. 20 (Aemil. 22), Bible of San Millan, and many others.

[3] Initial *i* should be long here.

[4] Muñoz y Rivera, *Paleografía Visigoda* (Madrid 1881) p. 93 sq.

[5] *Anleitung zur lat. Pal.* (4th edit., 1886) p. 71: 'daneben ist häufig auch das übergeschriebene s. Westgotisch findet sich m̑ = *mus*, b̑ = *bus*, aber auch q̑ = *que*.'

[6] *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* (Paris 1880) p. 57.

[7] *Pal. Soc.* i, pl. 95 (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 25600): 'A superior *s* denotes the terminations *us* and *ue*.'

considered by itself, *s* = *us* seems a perfectly reasonable hypothesis; but the explanation *s* = *ue* involves us in an improbability which is removed only when we go back to the origin of the sign and trace its evolution.

To sum up: each abbreviation-sign had its own development and history, which was largely conditioned by its environment. The same form had in some cases different values in different schools.[1] With increase in the number of abbreviations, new forms were adopted for the purpose of differentiation. Sometimes the form was only a modification of a less calligraphic stroke to suit the shape of certain letters or ligatures.[2] The constant recurrence of the same abbreviated syllables[3] resulted in certain forms of the abbreviation-sign gaining more or less permanent value in connexion with certain letters. The apostrophe and the 2-shaped sign are foreign importations which come in from the north at the end of the 10th century, after the script is fully developed. The traditional abbreviation of *bus* gives rise to the use of the semicolon to denote omitted *us* after any letter. As this was impossible after *q*, *que* retained its traditional abbreviation and thus kept intact the old relation between *bus* and *que*, the most ancient of abbreviations.

THE *m*-STROKE[4]

One of the most characteristic features of the developed Beneventan script is the form of its *m*-stroke. Whereas in ordinary developed minuscule omitted *m* was indicated by

[1] Cf. the abbreviation of Spanish *qui* and Irish *quod*; of Spanish *tum* and Anglo-Saxon *tur* (a vertical stroke cutting the extended top of *t*); of Spanish *lum*, *mum*, *num*, and Continental *lus*, *mus*, *nus*; of Spanish *per* and Continental *pro*.

[2] e. g. the reversed *s*-sign.

[3] e. g. the verb-endings in *cit*, *uit*, *xit*, *mur*, *tur*, &c.

[4] For the early history of the *m*-stroke compare Traube (*Nomina Sacra*, p. 241), who shows that the custom of omitting final *m* could not have come into Latin MSS. before the time of the translation of the Bible from Greek into Latin. As the Greek scribe omitted final *ν*, the Latin omitted final *m* at the end of a line.

a horizontal line above the vowel, the Beneventan used a symbol resembling arabic number 3. If we trace the evolution of this symbol we find it to be a development from the capricious abbreviation-strokes of the 8th and 9th centuries[1] (cf. p. 164), when no distinction was made between the abbreviation-stroke and the *m*-stroke.[2]

As the script grew more uniform and regular, the need seems to have been felt of keeping the abbreviation-stroke and the *m*-stroke distinct, the horizontal line being kept for the former and the wavy vertical stroke for the latter. Towards the end of the 9th century the *m*-stroke begins to assume its distinctive Beneventan shape, i. e. the 3-shape. This form goes through the same graphic development as the letters, being rather freely made at first, more precisely and gracefully in the Desiderian period, and angularly and stiffly in the 13th century.

Although omitted *m* was occasionally indicated by a horizontal line, the best Beneventan tradition adheres to the 3-shaped sign. But it is a curious fact that in the word *enim* the case is reversed: *enim* being regularly written ēnī and rarely eni[3]. This anomaly may possibly be accounted for by the supposition that the scribe regarded ēnī as an abbreviation for *enim*. The frequent position of the stroke over *n* instead of *i* supports this view.

In texts containing musical notation the *m*-stroke is often placed not above the vowel but after it like any other letter; obviously for the sake of avoiding confusion.[3]

There is no special *n*-stroke; on omitted *n* see below, p. 185.

[1] The same kind of *m*-stroke is to be seen in early Corbie MSS. and in early North Italian minuscule.

[2] In the MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries we find *prae*, *tur*, *ter*, and even *Iesu domini* abbreviated by the sign which is later reserved for the *m*-stroke.

[3] I have also noted the *m*-stroke written on the line after the vowel and not above it in a marginal note in Paris lat. 335, fol. 138, the reason being that the abbreviation of *per*, i. e. *p* with a stroke through the shaft, happened to be in the way and made it unsuitable to put the *m*-stroke in its usual interlineal place.

THE BENEVENTAN ABBREVIATIONS

The chief characteristic of Beneventan abbreviations is their conservatism. They preserved and handed on old forms which were given up by other Italian schools less able to withstand the influence of Caroline models.[1] If we cannot say with certainty which abbreviations were inventions of the South Italian schools, there is no doubt which were typical of them. As Beneventan specialities Traube mentioned mīa = *misericordia*, gl̄oa = *gloria*, am̄a = *anima*, po$\bar{p}$ls = *populus*, and t$\bar{p}$e = *tempore*.[2] Before any of these I should place $\bar{e}$ = *eius*,[3] for the other forms are frequently found elsewhere and gl̄oa is exceptional even in Beneventan. Despite the proximity of the Beneventan and Roman schools and their close relations, their methods of abbreviation remained distinct. Nor can it be said that either the Insular or the Spanish system had any marked influence upon the Beneventan.[4]

The Stages

During the different epochs of the script the picture presented by the abbreviations is as distinct and characteristic as that presented by the forms of the letters. It is possible to distinguish four stages:

1. The 8th and 9th centuries.
 The period of indecision and insecurity, as evidenced by the various abbreviations of the same word. Cf. in the list *autem*, *dicit*, *populus*, *propter*.
2. The 10th century.
 The period of greater consistency. Abbreviation by

[1] Cf. *autem*, p. 198 sq.; *omnis*, pp. 210 sqq.; *quoniam*, p. 191; *tur*, pp. 217 sqq.

[2] *Nomina Sacra*, p. 248. Cf. these abbreviations in my list. For mīa see below, p. 206.

[3] Cf. pp. 199 sqq.

[4] It should be noted that abbreviation by suprascript letters was wanting in early Beneventan MSS. The few Insular symbols used were common property. Visigothic abbreviations are very rare.

superior letters as yet rarely employed. Distinction made between *tur* and *ter*.

3. The 11th century.
The period marking the introduction of the following new forms or types, approximately in this order:
(*a*) $\overset{\text{ur}}{\alpha}$ = *tur*, α^{us} = *tus*
(*b*) $\bar{\text{i}}$ = *in*
(*c*) $\overline{\text{oi}}$, $\text{o}\bar{\text{i}}\text{s}$ = *omni*, *omnis*; $\text{h}\overline{\text{oi}}\text{s}$ = *hominis*; $\text{n}\overline{\text{oi}}\text{s}$ = *nominis*; $-\text{o}\bar{\text{i}}\text{s}$ = *-onis* (genitive of nouns in *-io*)
(*d*) abbreviation by superior letters: $\overset{\text{o}}{\text{g}}$ = *ergo*; $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{g}}$ = *igitur*;[1] $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{m}}$ = *mihi*; $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{t}}$ = *tibi*; $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{p}}\text{p}$ = *populi*; $\overset{\text{o}}{\text{q}}$,[2] $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{q}}$, $\overset{\text{a}}{\text{q}}$[3] = *quo*, *qui*, *qua*; $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{p}}$, $\overset{\text{a}}{\text{p}}$, $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{p}}$ = *pri*, *pra*, *pru*; $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{c}}$, $\overset{\text{a}}{\text{c}}$, $\overset{\text{o}}{\text{c}}$ = *cri*, *cra*, *cro*; $\overset{\text{a}}{\text{g}}$, $\overset{\text{e}}{\text{g}}$ = *gra*, *gre*; $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{t}}$, $\overset{\text{a}}{\text{t}}$, $\overset{\text{o}}{\text{t}}$ = *tri*, *tra*, *tro*, &c.

4. The 12th and 13th centuries.
The period in which abbreviations of the type $\overline{\text{oi}}$, $-\text{o}\bar{\text{i}}\text{s}$ = *omni*, *-onis*, &c., and those by superior letters as just cited, are the rule, to which must be added toward the end of the period such forms as $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{g}}$ = *gni*, $\overset{\text{o}}{\text{g}}$ = *gno*, $\overset{\text{i}}{\text{u}}$ = *uir*, $\overset{\text{e}}{\text{f}}$ = *ser*, $\text{i}\bar{\text{p}}\text{e}$ = *ipse*, $\text{ba}\bar{\text{t}}\text{us}$ = *beatus*, and other more or less arbitrary omissions, especially of *r*.

Alphabetical List of Beneventan Abbreviations

The following is intended to be not a lexicon of Beneventan abbreviations but a selected list of those which seemed *typical* or in some way worthy of attention. The chief aim has been to trace the different phases in their development, and to ascertain where possible the approximate duration of each phase. A few abbreviations whose evolution seemed particularly instructive have been discussed at greater length. No attempt was made to include the numberless abbreviations

[1] These abbreviations of *ergo* and *igitur* are among the earliest cases of abbreviations by superior letters.

[2] *q* with superior *o* for *quo* is earlier than the 11th century.

[3] The suprascript *a* has the open form. Here and in the following pages I use the ordinary form.

which occur in technical and liturgical books, nor those which are found in MSS. of the 13th century when the script was fast losing its Beneventan traditions. The observations noted are based upon examination of several hundred MSS. But in such matters there can be no pretension either to exhaustiveness or freedom from error.

The date given after an abbreviation refers to the earliest instance known to me. When no date follows, the form is probably older than the end of the 8th century.

adeo ad̄o saec. ix. Based upon d̄o = *deo*. This abbreviation came into use after all sense was lost of the reverence attaching to the contracted forms of the 'Nomina Sacra'. Cf. p. 158, also id̄o = *ideo*. It is also possible that d̄ = *de* is the explanation of the form.

amen am̄. Cf. m̄ = *men*, p. 184.

angelus angl̄s, angl̄i, &c. Cf. *saeculum*.

anima, &c. am̄a saec. xi; by analogy: am̄al = *animal*.
ā ā saec. xi ex.–xii.
aīa saec. xii–xiii.

The earliest MSS. do not abbreviate it. However, in MSS. of the 11th century the typically Beneventan form of the contraction is already established. This form is am̄a.[1] It is prevalent in the 11th century. Toward the end of the century ā ā is found by the side of am̄a. At about the same time the Insular and Continental form aīa is introduced, but used sparingly. The form ā ā continues for a brief time in the 12th century, but aīa occurs more frequently. In the 13th century aīa alone is the accepted abbreviation. I have noted am̄a in MS. Cava 19 a. 1280: but this is the exception.

animus am̄i = *animi*, am̄o = *animo*, aīo = *animo* saec. xi ex. The forms are analogous to those of *anima* and undergo the same development.

[1] Traube (*Nomina Sacra*, pp. 248, 255), it seems, found am̄a in a 10th-century MS. I did not find it in the thirty examined by me.

annus ān = *annos* and other cases. Cf. Naples VI B 12 saec. ix. aⁿn = *annos*. Cf. Vatic. lat. 3342 saec. x. In both MSS. the word occurs repeatedly. Usually it is found written out.

ante ān saec. xi. The avoidance of this form is doubtless due, as Lindsay points out,[1] to the possibility of confusing it with a suspension of *annus* and with the interrogative particle *an*, which according to Beneventan usage has a 2-shaped sign over it, also used as an abbreviation-sign. The abbreviation is of Insular origin.

apostolus apl̄s, apl̄i, &c. Occasionally the more precise form apl̄us is used, cf. Monte Cassino 299 saec. ix, Vatic. lat. 1202 saec. xi ex. Cf. *episcopus*.

apud apd saec. ix/x. Not frequent.
ap̄ saec. xi ex. Rare. The form is Insular.

aut ā saec. viii ex.–x. Rare. I have noted it in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex., Cava 2 saec. viii ex., Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix, Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex. (where an 11th-century corrector writes *aut* in the margin), and Vienna 68 saec. x ex. Chiefly found in glossaries.

autem aū saec. viii–xiv. The customary Beneventan form; aūt is the exception. See p. 198 sq.

beatus bēa. This suspension is found in Madrid B 3 saec. x and Munich 4623 saec. xi/xii. The form b̄a occurs in Monte Cassino 275 saec. xi. The corresponding contraction baūs is employed in Monte Cassino 440 a. 1264–82. The suspension b̄ is found in the liturgical MS. Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 a. 1094–1105; b̄p = *beati Pauli*. Here it amounts to a technical abbreviation.

bene b̄n. Rare. Cf. Cava 6 saec. xi/xii.

-ber b̄. A very old suspension found as early as the 4th century, e. g. lib· = *liber* in the papyrus fragments of Livy in semi-uncial.[2]

[1] Cf. Lindsay, *Contractions*, &c., p. 8.

[2] Cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part iv, pp. 90–116. Facs. in *New Palaeog. Society*, pl. 53; Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*², pl. 10.

-bis ꝺ saec. viii, e.g. noꝺ or uoꝺ. See p. 166. Beginning with the pronouns noꝺ, uoꝺ, it is extended to nouns, e.g. ueruꝺ = *uerbis*, uruꝺ = *urbis*; and then to verbs, e.g. daꝺ = *dabis* (Vienna 68 saec. x ex.). In the body of the word *bis* is not abbreviated.

-bunt ꝺ̄ꞇ saec. x. Cf. r̄ꞇ = *-runt*.

-bus b; (*b* followed by semicolon) saec. viii–xiv. Regular form, cf. q; = *que*. In the oldest MSS. the semicolon is made in a flourish. In MSS. after the beginning of the 11th century *b* with an apostrophe is also used. In Bamberg HJ IV 15 saec. viii ex. and Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix the shaft of the *b* is intersected by a cross-stroke, as in early Corbie MSS. (ꝉ type).

carissimi See *karissimi*.

Christus xp̄s, xp̄i, xp̄o, xp̄m. These contractions belong to the earliest group of 'Nomina Sacra'. See *Iesus*. The spelling xp̄c occurs in Vatic. lat. 3741 saec. xi ex. Beginning with the 11th century the word is often abbreviated by means of *x* with the final letter written above, e.g. x̊̄, x̱, x̊, x̄ = *Christus, -i, -o, -um*. My earliest instance, x̱, is found in Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi. Usually it occurs in liturgical books in the phrase *domini nostri Iesu Christi*. Cf. Oxford Bodl. Douce 127 saec. xi ex., Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 saec. xi/xii, Naples VI E 43 a. 1099–1118, Vatic. lat. 6082 saec. xii, and Monte Cassino 640 saec. xii/xiii. See similar abbreviations of *noster*, p. 207. By analogy *Christiani* = xp̄iani. Even *antichristus* is abbreviated: antixp̄s. In Rome Corsini 777 saec. xiii I noted *xpistus* written out. For other examples see under *Iesus*.

-cit c̄ in verb-ending: dic̄ = *dicit*. Cf. *-uit, -xit*.

con co̅, c̄ saec. viii ex. c̄ is the more usual symbol after the 9th century, but co̅ occurs occasionally. The Tironian sign ↄ is found in a few MSS. which show other Insular abbreviations. The scribe of Monte Cassino 322 saec. xi had copied ↄ into his text, which a corrector replaced with

c̄. c̄ is sometimes extended to denote *cen*, e.g. innoc̄tia in Vatic. lat. 3227 (Monte Cassino) saec. xii in., or *cun*, e. g. iuc̄ditas in Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix (due to pronunciation).

cra, cri, cro, &c. c̊, c̥, c̊, &c. Cf. p. 174. Abbreviation by suprascript letters is typical of MSS. after the middle of the 11th century.

cuius cuꝰ saec. x. Cf. eꝰ = *eius*, huꝰ = *huius*. The more frequent forms cuI; and cui' constitute no special abbreviation, the semicolon and the apostrophe being regular *us*-symbols.

David d̄d̄.

de d̄ saec. viii ex. Cf. Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex., Monte Cassino 97 saec. x in., Madrid B 3 saec. x, Vatic. lat. 3342 saec. x, Vatic. lat. 1468 saec. xi, Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi (under Insular influence). It is found in the Grimoald Diploma of 810 and other documents. It should be noted that this abbreviation is often employed by Visigothic scribes.

deus d̄s, d̄ī, d̄o̅, &c. Of the first group of 'Nomina Sacra'. In liturgical books (saec. xi ex.) the suspension d̄ is used for the various cases.

diaconus diāc̄s, diāc̄i. The normalized forms. In collections of canons various suspensions occur, e.g. diāc̄, diāc̄on, &c.

dicit, dicitur, &c. The usual forms are:

di c̄ = *dicit* (⁊ is found in Monte Cassino 299 saec. ix).

d̄r = *dicitur*.

di x̄ = *dixit*.

dixer̄ or dixer̄t or ⁊⁊ = *dixerunt*.

dīc̄s = *dicens*.

During the early period of the script a variety of other forms was used as well, e. g. d̄c̄ = *dicit* in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex., d̄c̄ and d̄t̄ = *dicit* in Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex., where the 11th-century corrector writes di c̄ in the margin. For *dicitur* we find dīr in Paris lat. 7530: d̄t̄r in Monte Cassino 299 saec. ix: dīc̄r in Rome Casanat. 1086

saec. ix and Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix : dic̄ir in Monte Cassino 132 saec. xi in. *dicuntur* is abbreviated by dic̄nr in Paris lat. 7530 and Monte Cassino 402 saec. x ex. Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1628 saec. xi has dn̄ꝯ.

dilectissimi dil̄mi. Usually in connexion with *fratres* in writings of a religious character.

discipulus dīs and other suspensions. A recurrent term in lectionaries, in the phrase *discipulis suis.*

dominus dn̄s, dn̄i, &c. One of the ancient group of 'Nomina Sacra'. In a secular sense it occurs in Cava 4 saec. xi in.

ecclesia ecc̄la, -ae, &c. The normalized forms.

e contrario ēc saec. ix. A *terminus technicus.* Not often employed.

eius ꝫ saec. ix ex. The typically Beneventan form. In documents it is found earlier. The abbreviations ꝫ; eI; and ei' make use of the *us*-symbol. With eſ cf. cuſ, huſ. The Insular symbol ɜ is used in the additions of Monte Cassino 3. See detailed discussion of *eius* on pp. 199 sqq.

enim. As a rule the word is written out, except that final *m* is indicated not by the Beneventan *m*-stroke (see above, p. 172), but by the ordinary horizontal line.

In a number of MSS., particularly in those showing Insular influence, we meet with the Insular symbol ⊣⊢. Cf. Bamberg P III 20 saec. x in., Monte Cassino 230 a. 969–87, Monte Cassino 86 saec. xi, Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi, Monte Cassino 322 saec. xi, and Rome Sessor. 81 (2030) saec. xii/xiii.

An unusual form, n̄, is often found in Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex. An 11th-century corrector has expanded it in the margin (pp. 148, 151, 154, 157, &c.).[1]

The form ė (*e* with superior *i*) occurs in some 13th-century MSS., e. g. Flor. Laurent. 29. 2. The curious form n̄

[1] This form is, in all probability, due to misunderstanding. The symbol ⊣⊢ may have been regarded as capital letter *H*. The scribe changed it to a small letter and added the abbreviation-stroke.

(*n* with horizontal stroke) occurs in Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi, p. 23. It is probably due to misunderstanding of Insular ⁊ or ·N·.

episcopatus epa͞tus. Cf. *episcopus.*

episcopus ep̄s, ep̄i, ep̄o, &c. The more precise form ep̄us occurs in Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x.

ergo ꝯ saec. xi. Cf. *igitur* and p. 203 sq.

esse, esset e͞e, e͞et saec. viii. The usual forms, even in MSS. which denote *est* by means of ÷.

est Two forms are employed: the Insular symbol ÷ and the Continental abbreviation ē. The latter is the regular form in the more recent MSS. (saec. xi ex., xii, and xiii). The older MSS., on the other hand, with few exceptions, use the Insular ÷. Very often its form is varied, the line between the dot and comma being made wavy and slanting. In some MSS. of the early 11th century both forms occur. It is a curious fact that MSS. of the south-eastern school (Bari type) show a preference for ÷ even in the 11th and 12th centuries. See p. 202 sq.

et The Insular symbol, which resembles arabic number 7, is found in a few MSS., particularly in those which show other Insular traits. The earliest instance known to me is in Bamberg P III 20 saec. x in. The MS. also has ⁊ for *enim.*

euangelista eu͞g, eug̃lista, or the more precise euang̃lista.

euangelium eu͞g, eug̃lium.

facit fac̄ = *facit*, fec̄ = *fecit*, analogous with dic̄ = *dicit*, saec. ix.

filius fi̇ saec. ix; *f* (with a line through it) or ſ saec. xii. Used only in recurrent phrases in chronicles, &c.

frater, &c. The abbreviation of this word originates in Christian literature, whence its use was extended to any context. The normal forms are:

fr̄ = *frater*	fr̄s = *fratres*
fr̄is = *fratris*	fr̄um = *fratrum*
fr̄i = *fratri*	fr̄bus = *fratribus*

fr̄m or fr̄em = *fratrem*

For *fratres* we have ff in Bamberg HJ IV 15 saec. viii ex. An interesting abbreviation for the nominative singular is frēr, found in the MSS. Benevento VI 33 saec. x/xi and Vatic. lat. 4928 saec. xii in. It corresponds to nēr for *noster*. Another variation, frr (fr*ater*), I noted in Monte Cassino 759 saec. xi in., Naples VIII B 6 saec. xi, and Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 (Tacitus) saec. xi.

gentes gs̄ (saec. xi) is the normal form. Especially common in liturgical books as a recurrent term. Other forms are: gēns saec. ix: gen̄ saec. xi in.: gt̄es in Vatic. lat. 3262 saec. xi ex.

gloria gl̇a. Originally in a religious sense, as *gloria dei*, &c.[1]

gloriosus gl̇os̄us.

gni g̊ saec. xii, e.g. reg̊ = *regni* in Monte Cassino 440 saec. xiii. Cf. p. 174.

gno g̊ saec. xiii, e.g. cog̊scitur in Rome Sessor. 32 (2093) saec. xiii. Cf. also Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 saec. xiii; see p. 174.

gra, gre, &c. g̊, g̊, &c. saec. xi ex. On abbreviations by suprascript letters see p. 174.

graece gc̄e saec. xi. Cf. Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi (under Insular influence).

gratia gr̄a. Chiefly in a religious sense. gr̄a d̄ı = *gratia dei*.

habeo, habet hab̄ saec. ix. Cf. similar suspensions of the third person singular of verbs, e.g. dic̄, fac̄, &c. In Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi (Insular influence) I noted the contractions h̄t̄, h̄at = *habet*: h̄ns = *habens*. h̄t̄ is likewise found in Vatic. lat. 5419 saec. xii.

hic deest[2] h̄d̄ saec. ix. Often in text where an omission has occurred. The corresponding sign is h̄p̄.

[1] The form gl̇oa mentioned by Traube (*Nomina Sacra*, p. 256) is found, as I learn from Prof. Lindsay, in Bamberg HJ IV 15 saec. viii, fol. 89. It is a most unusual form.

[2] According to Th. v. Sickel ('Prolegomena zum Liber Diurnus', in *Sitzungsber. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, cxvii (1889) part vii, p. 26, n. 2) *hic deest* and *hic ponas* are the only correct expansions of h̄d̄ and h̄p̄.

hic ponas h̄p saec. ix. Answers h̄d, *hic deest*; often in marginalia, preceding corrections or additions.

haec scribas (? *super*) h̄s. Answers h̄d. Usually placed after the addition in the margin.

hic, haec, hoc, &c. Abbreviations of this pronoun are, on the whole, rare.

ḣ = *hoc* saec. ix.

h̄ = *haec* saec ix. Both ḣ and h̄ are Insular symbols.

huſ = *huius* saec. ix. Cf. cuſ = *cuius*. The forms huI; and hui' make use of the *us*-symbol. Monte Cassino 276 saec. xii ex. and the 13th-century MS. Rome Sessor. 32 (2093) have ḣ for *huius*, i.e. *h* and the *us*-symbol. In Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex. we have *hoc* often represented by h̄, the normal form for *haec*.[1]

Hierusalem hiēr̄lm is perhaps the most usual form. I have also met hr̄slm (Monte Cassino 753 saec. viii) and hīr̄m.

homo, &c. h̄o, &c. Manifestly not an Italian abbreviation, for the older MSS. (saec. viii, ix, x) do not employ it. My first instances date from the beginning of the 11th century. The more frequent forms are:

h̄o = *homo* in Naples VIII B 3 saec. xi. Remains the normal abbreviation.

hōēm = *hominem* in Vatic. lat. 3741 saec. xi ex.

hōe = *homine* in Vatic. lat. 7810 saec. xi.

hōēs = *homines* in Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi.

A somewhat later system shows these variations:

hōis, hōi, hoīem in Leyden 118 saec. xi ex.

hoīes = *homines* in Naples VI E 43 saec. xi/xii and later MSS.

hōis = *hominis* in the same MSS.

hōie = *homine* in Monte Cassino 792 and Cava 18 saec. xiii.

hoīum = *hominum* in the same MSS. as show hoīes.

hoībus = *hominibus* in Vatic. Barb. lat. 603 (XIII 12) and Monte Cassino 640 saec. xii/xiii.

[1] Cf. Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur lat. Paläographie* (4th edit.) pp. 73–4.

In two MSS. which show Insular influence the word is frequently abbreviated in a peculiar way:
hoñem = *hominem* in Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi.
hoñes = *homines* in Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi.
hoñum = *hominum* in Monte Cassino 205.
In Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 saec. xiii I have noted hōūm for *hominum*. The form hoīñum is found in Leyden 118 saec. xi ex. Cf. *nomen*.

idem id̄ saec. ix. Rare; it ordinarily signified *id est*.

id est id̄ saec. ix. Besides this normal form, Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi has the Insular symbol ·i·, which also occurs in Leyden 118 saec. xi ex. It is more common in marginalia or interlineal glosses. Frequently only the second word of the phrase is abbreviated, id ÷ or id ē.

ideo id̄o. Cf. *adeo*.

Iesus iħs, iħu, iħm. From the original group of the 'Nomina Sacra'. The nominative iħc occurs in Vatic. lat. 3741 saec. xi ex. During the 11th century the following suprascript forms come into use: ĭ, $\overset{m}{\text{ĭ}}$ = *Iesu*, *Iesum*, chiefly in the phrase *domini nostri Iesu Christi*. Cf. similar abbreviations of *Christus* and *noster*, pp. 177, 207. The uncontracted form is very rare (Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 151, 152). In the Exultet Roll Vatic. Barb. lat. 592 (XIII 1) I found *Iesum xpistum*; *Iesus* (meaning Christ) occurs in Bologna Univ. 2843 (San Salvatore 486). The MS. Vatic. lat. 4958 saec. xi ex. has on foll. 14^{v}, 95^{v} *Iesu xpisti*. Another Beneventan Exultet Roll, Vatic. lat. 3784 saec. xi, has *IHesum xpistum*. The psalter from Sora, Oxford Bodl. Douce 127 saec. xi ex., has on fol. 1 *Hiesum xpistum*.

igitur g̊ saec. xi. The normal form. Occasionally ig̊r and ig̊ are found. Cf. *ergo* and detailed discussion, p. 203 sq.

imperator imp̄r saec. ix. The form imp̄ occurs in Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 saec. xi, imp̄atorum in Munich 4623 saec. xi/xii.

in ṫ = *in* saec. ix/x in MSS.[1] (In documents saec. ix in.) This form is not used after saec. xi in.

ī = *in*. Displaces ṫ. Is used saec. xi in. to saec. xiv. Typical of recent MSS. Both ṫ and ī are found in MSS. saec. xi in. A curious form ī occurs in some MSS. saec. xi in. See discussion on pp. 204 sqq.

inde ind̄. Cf. *de*.

in illo tempore inīlt saec. x. The standing abbreviation of the opening words of the lesson. More precise forms also occur, e.g. inillo$\overline{\text{tp}}$, Flor. Laurent. S. Marco 604 saec. xi in. and Naples VI B 2 saec. xii in.

interrogatio IN or IN$\overline{\text{T}}$ and other suspensions. saec. viii. As rubric or recurrent term. Cf. $\overline{\text{R}}$ or $\overline{\text{RS}}$ = *responsio*.

ipse ip̄e = *ipse*, ip̄i = *ipsi*, ip̄a = *ipsa*, &c. Only in recent MSS. saec. xiii.

Israel iſrl, the normal form. Variants occur, especially in the earliest MSS., e.g. is$\overline{\text{r}}$l in Benevento III 9 saec. ix and is$\overline{\text{r}}$hl in Rome Casanat. 641 (part i) saec. ix. s$\overline{\text{r}}$hl in Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix is probably due to a Visigothic archetype.

item ıt̄ saec. ix.

karissimi k$\overline{\text{m}}$i saec. viii. In religious literature, usually in connexion with *fratres*. I noted k$\overline{\text{am}}$i as well as k$\overline{\text{m}}$i in Bamberg HJ IV 15 saec. viii.

m Omitted *m* is usually denoted by a 3-shaped sign; occasionally by a horizontal stroke. See above, p. 171 sq.

men $\overline{\text{m}}$ saec. viii. See p. 167.

meus $\overline{\text{ms}}$ = *meus* saec. ix.

$\overline{\text{mm}}$ = *meum* saec. x.

$\overline{\text{ma}}$ = *mea* saec. xi. (e. g. $\overline{\text{aa}}$ $\overline{\text{ma}}$ = *anima mea*).

mām = *meam* saec. xi ex.

These abbreviations are analogous with those of d̄s = *deus*, d$\overline{\text{m}}$ = *deum*, &c. In Naples VI D 1 saec. xi ex. I noted m̊ for *meo*, a form which ordinarily denotes *modo*.

[1] The same form is used for *inter* in Insular MSS.

mihi ṁ saec. xi in. Cf. *tibi*.
m̄h̄ and mih̄ saec. xi, but not frequent.

misericordia, -ae, -am, &c. mīa, mīe, mīām, &c. saec. viii. For more data see p. 206.

modo m̊ saec. xi in. The standing form.

-mus m; saec. viii. Chiefly as verb-ending.
m' saec. xi, used far less often than m;. On omitted *us* see p. 197.

-mur The passive verb-ending in *mur* has the form m̐ saec. x/xi even in MSS. employing ꝛ² for *tur*; cf. Monte Cassino 446 saec. x/xi, Monte Cassino 132 ante a. 1023.[1] In two MSS. saec. xi in. which have ꝛ² for *tur* m' is used for *mur*, e. g. Monte Cassino 372 (p. 246) and Monte Cassino 324 (p. 183). Cf. the discussion of *tur* on pp. 217 sqq.

n Omitted *n*, e. g. nō, cō, saec. viii : bāt = *bant* saec. ix (rare). The omission of *n* in the ending of nouns in *io*, e. g. iōīs, iōi, iōem = *ionis, ioni, ionem*, is typical of recent MSS.; it is not usual before the end of the 11th century. In Monte Cassino 440 saec. xiii, fol. 25 omitted *n* is marked by the 3-shaped *m*-stroke.

nisi n̄ī saec. x. Cf. Vatic. lat. 3317. Rare.
ṅ saec. xi. Cf. ṁ = *mihi*; see p. 174.

nobis nob̄ saec. viii. See under *bis*.

nomen, &c. Abbreviations of the oblique cases of *nomen*, like those of *homo*, are, as a rule, not found in the older MSS. An exception is furnished by Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex., with n̄n̄ for *nomine*, which, however, a corrector expanded in the margin. It is probably through the direct or indirect influence of Insular exemplars that abbreviations of *homo* and *nomen* found their way into Beneventan MSS. in the 11th century. My earliest instance is pre-

[1] An earlier example of *m* with the 2-sign for *mur* is found in Monte Cassino 269 ante a. 949. I noted only one case (p. 270).

cisely from a MS. which has distinct relation with an Insular original, namely, Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi. I noted there, as in some later MSS., nō̄e = *nomine*, nō̄a = *nomina*. The characteristic forms of the more recent MSS. (saec. xi ex., xii, xiii) are:

nōīe = *nomine*
nōīs = *nominis*.

The nominative nom̄ is an old suspension which makes use of the common abbreviation m̄ = *men*. That it occurs in the 8th century, whereas the other cases appear much later, is due to the fact that nom̄ is not a distinct abbreviation of the word as such.

non n̄ saec. viii. The usual form.
nō̄ saec. viii. Occurs much less frequently.

noster, nostri, &c. See detailed account on pp. 206 sqq.
n̄r̄, nr̄i, nr̄o, &c. saec. viii. Normal forms.
ṅ = *nostri*, n̊ = *nostro*, n̄ = *nostrum*, n̊ = *nostra*, &c. saec. xi ex., especially in liturgical books.
nēr = *noſter* is found in a few Beneventan MSS. Cf. p. 208 sq.

numerus. Its use as a *terminus technicus* is here disregarded. In ordinary texts I noted:
nūo = *numero* in Vatic. lat. 3281 saec. xii in.
nūm̄o = *numero* in Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii.

nunc n̄c saec. ix.

obitus ℴ saec. x. In calendars and martyrologies containing obituary entries. Various other suspensions of *obiit* and *obitus* are used.

omnino follows the fortune of *omnis*.
omīno saec. ix.
oīn̄o saec. xi.
oīo saec. xii.

omnipotens, &c. Abbreviations of *omnipotens* reflect the development noted in the forms of *omnis*, and like *omnis*

have an older and a younger system. Of the former the usual forms are:

omps = *omnipotens* saec. viii.
omips = *omnipotens* saec. x.
ompe = *omnipotente* saec. ix.

The typical forms of the more recent system are:

oips = *omnipotens* saec. xi.
oiptis = *omnipotentis* saec. xii.

Some variations exist in the oldest MSS., e. g. ompns in Monte Cassino T XLV (part vi) saec. ix and Monte Cassino 575 saec. ix; ompts, ompтis in Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix.

omnis, &c. See discussion on pp. 210 sqq. Two systems may be distinguished. The first, which is found in the older MSS., has forms like omis, omem, omi, ome, oms, oma or omia, omium, omibus. The second system, which dates from the 11th century, is typical of the recent MSS. and has forms like ois, oem, oi, oe, os (*omnes*), oia or oa, oium, and oibus. The two systems are used contemporaneously.

per ꝑ saec. viii. The other very common *p*-symbols are: *prae* p̄ saec. viii. *pro* ꝓ saec. viii.
In MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries p̄ is found less often than ꝑ or ꝓ, and the abbreviation-stroke instead of being horizontal is often vertical and sinuous. Cf. p. 104.

populus, -i, -o, &c. There are three ways of abbreviating these words, of which the commonest is to indicate omitted *u* by a stroke through the *l*, thus:

(*a*) popŀs = *populus*
popŀi = *populi*
popŀo = *populo*
popŀm = *populum*
} saec. ix.

Cf. saecŀm, saecŀi, ocŀi, &c. Occasionally the *o* is written above the first *p*.

(*b*) In a considerable number of MSS. the final letter is written above, usually between, the two *p*'s, e. g.

p$^{\text{s}}$p = *populus* saec. xi ex.
p$^{\text{i}}$p = *populi* saec. xi in.
p$^{\text{o}}$p = *populo* saec. xi in.

As variations may be mentioned p$^{\text{o}}$ps = *populus* in Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585 saec. xi/xii, p$^{\text{o}}$prum = *populorum* in Paris Mazar. 364 saec. xi/xii. In Flor. Laurent. 68. 6 saec. xii/xiii we encounter besides p$^{\text{i}}$p, p$^{\text{o}}$p such forms as p$^{\text{i}}$p$^{\text{i}}$ R = *populi Romani*, p$^{\text{o}}$ R = *populo Romano*, p$^{\text{us}}$ R = *populus Romanus*, p$^{\text{um}}$ R$^{\text{um}}$ = *populum Romanum*.

(*c*) The third system, which is found in relatively few MSS., recalls the Spanish method of abbreviating by omitting the vowels, e. g.

p$\bar{\text{p}}$ls = *populus*
p$\bar{\text{p}}$lo = *populo*
p$\bar{\text{p}}$lm = *populum*
pp$\bar{\text{l}}$rum = *populorum*, &c.

} saec. ix.

Such forms are found in Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix, Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex., Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 saec. xi, Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 (Bari) saec. xii in., Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii.

post p$'$ saec. x/xi. The ordinary form.
p$^{\text{s}}$ saec. x/xi. In Naples VI B 12 saec. ix, a MS. full of abbreviations, I noted the frequent use of p$\bar{\text{t}}$ for *post*. In Rome Casanat. 641 (part i) saec. ix in. I found p$\bar{\text{a}}\bar{\text{n}}\bar{\text{n}}$ = *post annos*.

pra p$^{\text{a}}$ saec. xi. See p. 174.

prae (*pre*) p$\bar{\ }$. Cf. *per*. Owing to mediaeval orthography p$\bar{\ }$ is the standing symbol for the syllable *pre*; it is occasionally used for *proe*, as p$\bar{\ }$lium in Cava 2 saec. viii ex. and other MSS.

praeter p$\bar{\text{t}}$. Formed by p$\bar{\ }$ = *prae* and $\bar{\text{t}}$ = *ter*.

pre p$\bar{\ }$. See *prae*.

presbiter, &c. pb̄r, pb̄ri, pb̄ro, &c., the normal forms. Their use is very old.

pri ṕ saec. xi. See p. 174. In Monte Cassino 322 saec. xi (first half) a corrector changes the superior *i* to the ligature *ri* (ꝛ̓)—a sign that it was not yet an established abbreviation.

pro ꝓ. Cf. *per*.

propheta, &c. prop̄ha or ꝓpha, &c.

propriùm, &c. ꝓp̓um, ꝓp̓o, &c. saec. xi. Not common. Composed of the usual *pro*-symbol and the abbreviation of *pri* by means of suprascript *i*. In Naples VI B 3 saec. xii I noted the Insular form ꝓ̓a = *propria*.

propter ꝓp̄t saec. viii. Becomes the accepted form. However, during the 8th and 9th centuries a number of rivals are in the field, e. g.

pp̲ in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex.

p̄p̄ in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex., Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823 saec. ix, Naples VI B 12 saec. ix, and Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex.

ꝓ̄ or prop̄ in Cava 2 saec. viii ex., Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823, Naples VI B 12, Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix, and the glosses of Vienna 903 saec. x; also in the recent MS. Rome Sessor. 81 (2030) saec. xii/xiii.

p̄p̄t in Bamberg HJ IV 15 saec. viii.

p̄p̄r in Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex.

ꝓr̄ in Flor. Laurent. 66. 40 saec. ix ex.

In Monte Cassino 148 a. 1010 I noted pr̄op̄r (fol. 221ᵛ). The variety of forms found in the early MSS. reflects the unsettled condition of the script during that period.

propterea p̄pa in Naples VI B 12 saec. ix.

ꝓp̄ea in Cava 2 saec. viii ex. and Naples VI B 12.

ꝓp̄ta in Flor. Laurent. 68. 6 saec. xii/xiii.

pru p̆. See p. 174.

psalmus p̄s saec. ix. Also other suspensions.

qua q̊ saec. xi. Cf. p. 174.

quae q; saec. viii. The usual abbreviation for *que*, which is Beneventan, or in fact mediaeval, orthography for *quae*. I noted q̄ in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex. This form occurs less frequently in texts than in marginalia.

quaesumus q̄s saec. x. As a recurrent term in liturgical books.

quam The word has no distinctive abbreviation. I have noted one exception. The symbol q̨, which elsewhere in Beneventan MSS. denotes *quod*, represents *quam* in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex. This form is probably taken over from the exemplar.

quando qd̄o saec. x. Not common.
A still less common form is q̄n, which I noted in Monte Cassino 86 saec. xi, Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41 saec. xi/xii and Vatic. lat. 3281 saec. xii in.

quare q̄r. This syllabic suspension occurs in Monte Cassino 276 saec. xii ex.

quasi qs̄i saec. x. Not common.

que q; The usual form. Together with b; it is one of the oldest suspensions in Latin MSS. The semicolon after *q* is occasionally made in one flourish. In Rome Casanat. 641 (part i) saec. ix in. it cuts the lower shaft of the *q*. I have met the abbreviation in the body of the word in Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823 saec. ix, e. g. eloq;ntiam (fol. 108). Owing to mediaeval spelling the form q; often represents *quae*.

qui, &c. q̨ saec. viii. In like manner q̨a, q̨bus, q̨d, q̨ppe, q̨s, &c.
q̣ = *qui* saec. xi. See abbreviations by suprascript letters, p. 174.

quia q̨a saec. ix.
q̣a saec. xi. Cf. *qui*. The *a* is found suprascript in Paris Mazar. 364 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi/xii. I have

found the Nota Juris q< in Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi and Rome Sessor. 32 (2093) saec. xiii. Both MSS. show a number of abbreviations foreign to the Beneventan system.

quid q̨d saec. ix. Cf. *qui.* The curious monogram abbreviation q̨ I noted in Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 and Rome Sessor. 81 (2030) saec. xii/xiii.

quis q̨s saec. ix. Cf. *qui.*

quo q̊ saec. x. Abbreviation by suprascript letter, see p. 174.

quod qđ saec. viii. The normal form.

q̨ saec. ix. Occurs often enough to be regarded as a feature of the script; yet that it was a foreign element is shown by the fact that the scribe of Monte Cassino 322 saec. xi mistook the symbol for *qui.*

quomodo q̊m̊ saec. xi. See under *quo* and *modo.*

quoniam q̄m̄ saec. viii. The regular form. Exceptions are Monte Cassino 753 saec. viii and Benevento III 9 saec. ix, which often use q̄n̄m besides q̄m̄. Both MSS. show Frankish characteristics.

quoque q̄q̄ saec. ix.

q̊q; saec. x ex. See under *quo* and *que.*

quot q̄t̄. Rare, e.g. q̄t̄q̄t = *quotquot*, in Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex.—the instance referred to by Traube (*Nomina Sacra*, p. 264)—and Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi.

r omitted *r* denoted by a wavy stroke over the vowel. saec. xii. A feature of the more recent MSS.

reliqua relīq̄ saec. ix. Cf. Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex. and Rome Casanat. 641 (part ii) saec. x. In the former MS. I also noted relī and r̄l̄ as a recurrent word in the expression *et reliqua.*

respondit ℟ saec. xi in. Cf. ℣ = *dixit.*

In Monte Cassino 759 (Bible) saec. xi in. (p. 32) I noted qui ℟ ei. This symbol is frequently used in the questions

and answers in the Vitae Sanctorum. Cf. Naples VIII B 3 saec. xi. A curious form is Rdet = *respondet*, found in Monte Cassino 440 saec. xiii.

responsio RSP, RS, or R saec. ix. As rubric marking the answer, just as IN or INT (*interrogatio*) marks the question.

-rint *r* with a stroke above the letter or intersecting the shoulder. Not usual. The form is regularly employed to signify *-runt*.

-rum ꝝ. Chiefly used in the case-endings *-orum* and *-arum*. This abbreviation is formed of the two curved strokes of uncial *R*, with the abbreviation-stroke intersecting the lower curve. See p. 138. It is one of the old suspensions.

runt r̄ saec. viii, e.g. fuer̄, dixer̄, &c.
r̄t̄ saec. ix, e.g. fuer̄t̄, dixer̄t̄, &c.
Both the suspension and the contraction are in regular use, often occurring in the same MS. The former represents the old Italian tradition. In MSS. of the late 10th and early 11th centuries the stroke, instead of being above the *r*, cuts the shoulder of the letter obliquely, as shown above, p. 164. Cf. Monte Cassino 77, 269, and 123, Vatic. lat. 3317, Flor. Laurent. Ashburnh. 55 (all saec. x), Monte Cassino 148, 132, 124 (saec. xi in.), and many others.

s ’ saec. xi. The same symbol is employed for *us*. See detailed discussion on pp. 213 sqq.

saeculum sec̄um, -i, -o, &c. saec. ix. The normal forms. Less precise are sc̄i = *saeculi* and sc̄m = *saeculum*, which I noted in several 8th- and 9th-century MSS. The old and frequent abbreviation of *saecula*, in which omitted *u* before *l* is indicated by a stroke through the shaft of *l*, was most likely the prototype of such forms as pop̄i, -o, oc̄i, -o, fam̄i, -o, sim̄, and m̄ti, -o, &c.

sanctus sc̄s, sc̄i, sc̄o, &c. Of the ancient stock of the ‘Nomina Sacra’. See p. 158 sq. S̄ or s̄ = *sanctus* (and cases) saec. x.

scilicet ·s· saec. x. Found in interlineal glosses but not in text.

secundum secd̄m saec. ix. The usual form. It gives rise to:

secd̄s, -a, &c. saec. ix. The less precise form scd̄m is found in MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries. In liturgical books various suspensions are employed in the frequent phrases *secundum Marcum*, *secundum Lucam*, &c., also the symbol ſ (*s*, with sinuous cross-stroke). Cf. Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585 saec. xi/xii and Vatic. Ottob. lat. 576 saec. xii ex. This form is found in the more recent MSS. Rome Sessor. 32 (2093) saec. xiii and Sessor. 105 (1377) saec. xiii. The scribe of Monte Cassino 322 saec. xi mistook the symbol for *si*. In Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi the cross-stroke cuts the *s* at right angles, ſ. *sm* also occurs, with an oblique stroke through the *s*, in Rome Vallicell. B 66 saec. xi ex.

sed Rarely abbreviated. *s* followed by a comma occurs in Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi, Monte Cassino 86 saec. xi, Monte Cassino 111 saec. xi, Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 saec. xi, and Vatic. Ottob. lat 1939 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex.; we find *s* followed by a semicolon in Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii, Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 saec. xiii, and Rome Sessor. 32 (2093) saec. xiii.

ser *s* with oblique stroke intersecting the vertical shaft. saec. xiii. See p. 174.

sicut sic̄ saec. ix.

sic̄t saec. x. Less common than sic̄. The Insular form ṡ is found in Monte Cassino 302 saec. xi ex.

spiritalis, &c. spāl̄is, &c. saec. ix. spāl̄iter = *spiritaliter*. spūāl̄is = *spiritualis* in Glasgow Univ. V 3. 2 saec. x in.

spiritus, &c. sp̄s, sp̄m, sp̄u, &c. Among the oldest of the 'Nomina Sacra'. Cf. p. 158 sq.

suis s̄s̄ saec. xi. Only in liturgical books as recurrent term:

'discipulis $\overline{ss}$' in Vatic. lat. 3741 (Evangeliarium) saec. xi ex. and Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 saec. xi/xii.

sunt $\overline{st}$ saec. viii.

$\bar{s}$ saec. viii. The contraction is more usual. But both forms are frequently to be found in the same MS.

super $\overline{sr}$ saec. xi. Not common. I have noted it in Monte Cassino 205 and 351, both saec. xi, and Rome Vallicell. A 15 saec. xiii. It is an Insular form. I found *s* with sinuous intersecting stroke in Flor. Laurent. 68.2 saec. xi.

supra su$\bar{p}$ saec. xi. Not frequent.

suprascriptus, -a, -um $\overline{ss}$. This ancient suspension and the contraction s$\bar{s}$a are often found in Munich 337 (medicine) saec. x.

tamen ta$\overline{m}$ saec. ix. Cf. $\overline{m}$ = *men.* In Vatic. lat. 3281 (Statius) saec. xii in., Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 (Bari) saec. xii in., and Monte Cassino 276 saec. xii ex. I found the Nota Juris $\overline{tm}$. The contraction $\overline{tn}$ occurs in Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 saec. xiii.

tempus The word is chiefly abbreviated in liturgical books; see under *in illo tempore*, where *t* represents *tempore.* Other abbreviations are: the suspension—

te$\overline{m}$p = *tempore*, in Flor. Laurent. San Marco 604 saec. xi in., which is the basis of the contraction—

te$\overline{m}$pa = *tempora*, in Munich 4623 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi/xii. The syllabic suspension—

$\overline{tp}$ = *tempore*, in Flor. Laurent. San Marco 604 and Naples VI B 2 saec. xi in., is the basis of the contractions:

t$\bar{p}$e = *tempore*, in Monte Cassino 143 saec. xi, Vatic. lat. 3741 saec. xi ex., Munich 4623, Vienna 1188 saec. xii, and Flor. Laurent. 68. 6 saec. xii/xiii;

t$\bar{p}$a = *tempora*, in Monte Cassino 86 saec. xi; and—

t$\bar{p}\bar{b}$us = *temporibus* in Munich 4623 and Benevento V 26 saec. xii in. Lastly, the syllabic suspension—

t$\bar{p}$r = *tempore*, in Benevento III 8 saec. xi in., Flor.

Laurent. 51. 10 saec. xi ex., and Vatic. lat. 3281 saec. xii in., is the basis of the contractions :

tp̄re = *tempore*, in Vatic. lat. 4958 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex. and Munich 4623 and—

tp̄ris = *temporis* in Vatic. lat. 3227 saec. xii in.

ter  saec. viii. Occasionally the abbreviation-stroke is a vertical flourish, e. g. in Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix. In Paris 335 (part ii) saec. x and in a few documents  denotes *ter*. Cf. p. 225.

tibi  saec. xi in. The normal form. But  (which ordinarily denotes *tri*) is found in several MSS., e.g. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41 saec. xi/xii, Vatic. lat. 4955 (Benevento) saec. xi, and occasionally in Leyden 118 saec. xi ex., Naples VI G 31 saec. xi ex., Monte Cassino 276 saec. xii ex.

tra  saec. xi, e.g. in. See p. 174.

tri  saec. xi. Cf. *tra*. In Monte Cassino 69 (medicine) saec. ix ex. this abbreviation occurs in the recurrent word *trita*. Its use here may be due to the technical character of the text, however, or to the archetype, as no other instances anterior to the 11th century are known to me.

tro  saec. xi, e.g. ul. Cf. p. 174.

tunc tn̄c saec. x in.

t̄c in Flor. Laurent. S. Marco 604 saec. xi in., Monte Cassino 86 saec. xi, Vatic. lat. 3281 saec. xii in., and Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 saec. xiii.

tur See discussion on pp. 217 sqq. Important dating criterion.

 or  or  saec. viii–x.

 saec. x (second half)–xi in.

 saec. xi in.–xiv.

In Monte Cassino 269 ante a. 949 it occurs in the body of the word nocnos. At the beginning of a word I noted it in Munich 4623 a. 1098–1106, pibus.

In Monte Cassino 384 saec. x in. *tur* is denoted by a vertical stroke intersecting the right branch of the cross-

stroke of *t*, as in Anglo-Saxon MSS. and in several French MSS. of the Corbie ꝛcꝛ type.

ubi ú saec. xii/xiii. Found in Monte Cassino 276 saec. xii ex., Flor. Laurent. 29. 2, and Spalato Capitol. Historia Salonitana, both saec. xiii.

uel uł saec. viii.

ł saec. ix. Both forms are found in the same MSS. In the body of a word I found it in Monte Cassino 123 saec. x ex., e.g. ułle = *uelle*.

uer ū saec. x.[1]

ů saec. xi. Cf. p. 165, n. 3.

Both forms are found in the same MSS.

uero ūo saec. ix.

ů saec. x. Cf. Rome Casanat. 641 (part ii) fol. 163. Not common before saec. xi.[2]

uester ūr, urī, &c. Cf. *noster*.

uēr = *uester*. A form found in a few Beneventan MSS. It corresponds to the form nēr for *noster*. See above, p. 186. As part of a word it is also abbreviated, e. g. silūr = *Siluester* in Rome Vallicell. D 5 saec. xi.

uir ú saec. xii ex.

-uit ū. The verb-ending *-uit*, e.g. amaū = *amauit*. Standing abbreviation, cf. p. 167.

unde und̄. Cf. *de*.

ūn saec. xi. Cf. Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi, Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 (Bari) saec. xii in., Monte Cassino 276 saec. xii ex., Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 saec. xiii. It is an Insular form.

-xit x̄. The verb-ending *-xit*, e. g. rex̄ = *rexit*, dix̄ = *dixit*. Common abbreviation, cf. p. 167.

[1] The abbreviation must be very old. It occurs in the North Italian MS. Vercelli 183 saec. viii; and many centuries before that in the Formula Fabiana.

[2] In Vatic. lat. 3342 saec. x; according to Mommsen, *u* with a tiny curved stroke is used for *uero*. See Preface to his 2nd ed. of *Solinus*, p. cv (Berlin 1895).

Abbreviated Syllables

In the above list it seemed advisable to include not only abbreviated words but also abbreviated syllables, especially those which are used frequently and regularly. They are:

ber, *bis*, *bunt*, *bus*, *cit*, *con*, *men*, *mur*, *mus*, *runt*, *ter*, *tur*, *uer*, *uit*, and *xit*. See above, pp. 166 sqq. It is instructive to see these abbreviations also from the point of view of the part omitted. Thus regarded we get this list:

Omitted	*en*	in	m(en); by extension c(en), g(en), n(en).
,,	*er*	,,	b(er), t(er); by extension c(er), u(er). The very frequent omission of *er* (or *re*) is typical of the recent MSS. (saec. xi ex.–xiii), e.g. d(er), g(er), n(er), e.g. gen̄a, s(er).
,,	*is*	,,	b(is) at end of words; by extension d(is), l(is).
,,	*it*	,,	c(it), u(it), x(it), in verb-endings.
,,	*on*	,,	c(on), n(on).
,,	*re*		see *er*.
,,	*um*	in	or(um), ar(um), usually in case-endings.
,,	*un*	,,	b(un)t, r(un)t, s(un)t.
,,	*ur*	,,	m(ur), t(ur); by extension c(ur), g(ur).
,,	*us*	,,	b(us), m(us); by extension used with any other consonant except *q*. This is the most frequent of the omissions. The normal way of indicating omitted *us* is by the semicolon. The apostrophe is not infrequent in the 11th century, but the semicolon still remains the more usual sign.

In later MSS. they divide honours. Early examples of the apostrophe are found in Lyons 788 saec. x (Gram.) and in two 9th-century MSS. Benev. III 9 and Monte Cassino 299. These are exceptions to the rule. The semicolon is occasionally made without lifting the pen, so that the point and comma are joined and resemble a shallow 3 or a slender *s*.

Detailed Discussion of Special Abbreviations

autem	misericordia
eius	noster, uester
est	omnis
ergo, igitur	’ = s
in	tur

Autem

The form aū is found in all the oldest Beneventan MSS. save one (Monte Cassino 753 saec. viii med.), which uses aūt. In some of them, however, other forms are to be noted as well, e.g. a͞t in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex., aūt in Rome Casanat. 641 (part i) saec. ix in., Rome Casanat. 1086 saec. ix, and in Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix, which also has the peculiarly Spanish contraction aūm.

The indecision in usage ceased as soon as the script became more fixed and calligraphic. This is evidenced by later MSS. Thirty-five MSS. of the 10th century examined by me agree in the exclusive use of aū. It is practically the only form employed in the MSS. of the next three centuries. That aūt should creep in here and there[1] and contest the field with aū was only natural considering the almost universal use of aūt by the schools immediately north of the Beneventan zone. The traditional character of aū in Beneventan centres is emphasized in a number of MSS. in which Beneventan and non-Beneventan scribes collaborated. The Beneventan has invariably aū, the non-Beneventan aūt, the difference in the abbreviation being plainly the result of differences in local tradition. The two contemporaneous hands are seen in the following MSS.: Bamberg E III 4 saec. ix/x, Monte Cassino 230 a. 969–87,

[1] I noted aūt and aū in the following MSS.: Monte Cassino 5 a. 1011–22, Oxford Bodl. Canon. Bib. lat. 61 saec. xi ex., Rome Vallicell. A 16 saec. xi, Milan Ambros. c 90 inf. saec. xi ex., and Naples VI B 3 (1145–65). In Naples VI B 11 saec. xi/xii only aūt occurs. When we find aūt in Monte Cassino 466 saec. xiii it is due to the breaking down of the old Beneventan traditions.

Vatic. lat. 4770 (Roman school) saec. x ex., Monte Cassino 5 a. 1011–22, London Add. MS. 11916 saec. xi ex., Vatic. lat. 378 (Roman school) saec. xi ex., Vatic. Barb. lat. 560 (XII 3) (Roman school) saec. xi/xii.

EIUS

The peculiar abbreviation ꝯ for *eius* is a standing feature of Beneventan MSS. from the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 14th century. It is, as far as I know, exclusively Beneventan—if we disregard a few MSS. of pre-Caroline type[1]—so that its presence in a non-Beneventan MS. after the 9th century warrants the presumption that the archetype of that MS. was Beneventan.[2] Further evidence of its exclusively Beneventan character is furnished by MSS. of the Roman school. These writing centres, nearest neighbours of the Beneventan, are in some cases historically known to have been under Beneventan (more precisely, Cassinese) influence; in other cases dependence on Beneventan models can be demonstrated on palaeographical grounds. Yet despite these close relations MSS. containing contemporaneous hands in Beneventan and Roman minuscule show ꝯ only in the Beneventan portion.[3] How very foreign it was to scribes of other schools is seen from the fact that they mistook it for q, i.e. abbreviated *qui*.[4]

[1] See below, p. 202.

[2] A case in point is the MS. Stuttgart Landesbibl. 4° 12 saec. xii. The MS. has here and there the peculiarly Beneventan interrogation-sign. Cf. p. 263. The MS. Vatic. lat. 6081 in ordinary minuscule (saec. xii) also has this form of *eius*. That it is a copy from a Beneventan original is suggested by the fact that the MS. contains Luculentius, which is found, as Prof. Souter kindly informs me, only in another Beneventan MS. Rome Vallicell. T. XX saec. xi.

[3] An example of this we have in Vatic. lat. 4770 saec. x. In the thirty-two lines in Beneventan found in the body of the MS. (fol. 216) it occurs several times. The hand immediately preceding and following these lines, which is contemporaneous Roman minuscule, uses consistently ei'—the regular Caroline form. The same is the case in Monte Cassino 230 saec. x ex. and many other MSS.

[4] Cf. Wattenbach, *Anleitung z. lat. Pal.*, 4th ed., p. 48, and W. M. Lindsay, *Contractions*, p. 53. See also above, p. 156. The MS. ϕ of Apuleius which

The form ꝯ made its way gradually into Beneventan calligraphy. None of the oldest MSS. know it. They chiefly write out the word, or else make use of the familiar *us*-symbol (;). In the oldest MSS. in which ꝯ is found, Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex. (p. 148) and Monte Cassino 3 a. 874–92 (p. 114), it occurs, as far as my examination of them shows, but once. However, the scribes whose activity falls about the year 900 begin to use it more frequently, as is seen from the MSS. Monte Cassino 332, Rome Casanat. 641 (part ii), and Monte Cassino 97. The corrector of Vatic. lat. 3313 who knows ꝯ (the writer of the MS. did not) belongs to this period.

In the early 10th century we note other forms beside ꝯ, e. g. ēī in Vatic. lat. 5845, eī in Bamberg P III 20 and ꝯ; in Vatic. lat. 5007. After the arrival of the new *us*-symbol (') in the early 11th century we encounter ꝯ', e. g. Monte Cassino 205 (under Insular influence) and Rome Vallicell. C 32. But neither this form nor ꝯ; constitutes a distinct abbreviation of *eius*. They merely make use of the *us*-symbol. The chief and typical abbreviation is ꝯ, whose use lasts as long as the script.[1]

As for the origin of ꝯ it is not too bold to say it is hardly a development of ꝯ;. If it were we should expect to find traces of the *us*-symbol (;) in the earlier examples of ꝯ. These, however, do not exist. In Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex., Monte Cassino 97 saec. x in., Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x in., and Bamberg P III 20 saec. x in., and in many later MSS. we meet with a form of *eius* which is similar to that found in a Beneventan document of 810.[2] Here the abbreviation-stroke which cuts the letter *i* below the line is made slanting. The method

is a copy of F (both Beneventan) has *manu que* for *manu eius* in *Metam.* lib. ii, cap. vi (ed. Van der Vliet (1897) p. 26, l. 22 and Preface, p. ix). The abbreviation of *eius* had become illegible in F and was mistaken for abbreviated *qui* which was corrupted into *que*. This explains how a Beneventan scribe fell into the error.

[1] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, plates 97–100.

[2] Cf. Piscicelli Taeggi, *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino, Longobardo-Cassinese*, pl. 34, and *Script. Benev.*, pl. 6.

of indicating suspension by a slanting line cutting a prolonged letter or part of a letter is ancient.[1] It may be in cursive, then, that we are to look for the origin of ꝯ. The caution with which it appears at first, as though feeling its way, would support this supposition. The form ꝯ with a diagonal cross-stroke is found in some non-Beneventan MSS., which, however, it is important to note, had not yet succumbed to the Caroline reform, which cleared the minuscule writing then in use of its cursive elements: e. g. ꝛ, ꝕ, ꝙ, &c. The admission of this form into Beneventan book-hand furnishes an excellent illustration of one of the characteristics which distinguish the Beneventan school from the Caroline.[2]

Mention has been made of the forms ꝯ; and ꝯ', which call for no further comment. Another form occasionally encountered is eꝯ, in which the long form of *i* is crossed by a horizontal stroke. It is analogous with huꝯ, cuꝯ (cf. abbreviations of *huius* and *cuius*) and somewhat similar to the Visigothic symbol, in which to be sure the stroke often resembles the letter *s*. The similarity with the Visigothic is easily accounted for. It arises from the fact that both schools observe the *i*-longa rule,[3] which requires a long *i* in *eius* if the word is written out. If, on the other hand, it was to be abbreviated, nothing was more natural than to indicate the suspension by a stroke intersecting the long shaft of *i*. In Beneventan, however, where a traditional symbol for *eius* already existed, this form seldom occurs.

The form ꝯ found in Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x in., where it is most probably due to the archetype, is so rare that it need not detain us.

Before and during the 9th century the form ꝯ is found outside of the Beneventan zone, as may be seen from the following MSS. and documents which have come to my notice.

[1] I have noted it in the interesting semi-uncial MS. from Verona (Vatic. lat. 1322 saec. vi). The slanting cross-stroke from right to left downward is typical of early Corbie MSS. (ꝛꝺ type).

[2] Cf. pp. 95 and 205.

[3] Cf. pp. 115, 302, and 308.

The documents are :

St. Gall I 13 a. 757 (where the comma-like stroke cutting the *i* resembles the later *us*-symbol).[1]

Lucca Archiv. Capitol. *G 46 a. 807 (the cross-stroke is slanting).

Veroli documents of the 11th century (as yet unpublished).

The MSS. are :

Cassel Theol. Q. 10 (which has various forms besides. The cross-stroke is slanting).[2]

London Cotton Nero A II saec. ix in. (cross-stroke slanting).

Carlsruhe (Reich.) 57 saec. ix in. (stroke not slanting).

Milan Ambros. B 31 sup. saec. ix in. (stroke not slanting).

Rome Sessor. 96 (1565) saec. ix. (They have the
" " 63 (2102) " " slanting cross-
" " 23 (1254) " " stroke.)

Stuttgart Landesbibl. 4° 12 saec. xii, mentioned above. (Here this form of *eius*, which occurs sporadically, is due to a Beneventan archetype, which, so far as I know, is not the case in the preceding MSS.)

Est

An examination of the abbreviations of *est* found in Beneventan MSS. shows that the symbol ÷ was commonly used in the 8th, 9th, and early 10th centuries. The MSS. Bamberg HJ IV 15, Monte Cassino 575, and Monte Cassino 332, which furnish the exceptions to the rule, have, it should be observed, other characteristics which do not quite accord with Beneventan traditions; and the form ē which they employ may be due to a non-Beneventan original. The most recent MSS., i.e. of the 12th and 13th centuries, are strikingly at one in their preference for ē. The dated MSS. of about the year 1100 con-

[1] Facs. in Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*[2], pl. 38.

[2] Knowledge of this MS. I owe to Prof. W. M. Lindsay.

sistently employ ē, e. g. Munich 4623, Naples VIII C 4, Naples VI E 43, Paris Mazar. 364, Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211. Both ÷ and ē are found in the early 11th-century MS. Flor. Laurent. 66. 1. Whereas ē is already present in several MSS. of the latter half of the 10th century, the form ÷ is still used in the Theobaldan MSS. (1022–35) Monte Cassino 57 and 104. However, after that period it becomes the exception and ē the rule.

A curious and interesting fact is the use of both ē and ÷, perhaps more often the latter than the former, in the group of MSS. which are written in the Bari type. I mention: Eton Bl. 6. 5 saec. xi, Naples IV F 3 saec. xii, Naples VI B 2 saec. xi in., Naples VIII B 6 saec. xi, Naples San Martino 14 saec. xi, Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 (Bari) saec. xii in., Vatic. lat. 1468 saec. xi, and Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii.

Ergo, Igitur

Ergo and *igitur* are closely related. It is supposed that the Insular scribes who invented the form for *igitur* (g̣) made one for *ergo* by analogy with it. It is advisable here to treat the two side by side.

Neither word, so far as my observation goes, is abbreviated in Beneventan MSS. prior to the 11th century.[1] Curiously enough, abbreviated *ergo* is found in many MSS. which do not abbreviate *igitur* after its use is already certified. The first dated instance of g̊ = *ergo* known to me is in the MS. Monte Cassino 28, written before the year 1023. After that it remains the permanent property of the script. g̊ is the normal

[1] It is true that g̊ = *ergo* is found in the MS. Monte Cassino 451, which, according to Caravita (*I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, i. 168), must have been written between 983 and 1002. But the verses referring to Otto III which furnish this date must be regarded, for palaeographical reasons, as copied. The same must be said of Rome Vallicell. D 5 containing the same verses (cf. *Archivio Paleogr. Italiano*, ii, plates 73–5). If the two leaves (foll. 39–40) of Rome Vallicell. R 32 are of the 10th century, they would furnish the only instance noted by me of g̊ = *ergo* in a product of that time.

form. Traube (*Nomina Sacra*, p. 259) notes the use of e$\overset{g}{\cdot}$ in Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 50 saec. xi.

Examples of abbreviated *igitur* are already observable in the 11th century. Yet the early 11th-century MSS. show the word written out as a rule, except for the syllable *tur*, which is abbreviated. The usual way of abbreviating *igitur* is $\overset{i}{g}$. In Vatic. lat. 3549 the form occurs; on fol. 68, however, ig̅r is used. The latter is, according to Traube, of Insular origin. It is also to be found in Monte Cassino 124 saec. xi (first half) p. 542, Monte Cassino 284 saec. xi (second half), Monte Cassino 275 saec. xi ex., and in the early 11th-century MS. Rome Vallicell. T. XXII (part i)—a MS. which has $\overset{g}{\cdot}$ for *ergo*.

Other departures from the usual $\overset{i}{g}$ are: ig̅ on fol. 17 of Vatic. lat. 3375 (written in 11th-century Beneventan over erased 6th-century semi-uncial), $\overset{i}{g}$ in Monte Cassino 450 saec. xii ex., ig̃ and $\overset{i}{g}$ in Vatic. lat. 3327 saec. xii/xiii, and ig̅ in Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 saec. xiii.

From the above it follows that the abbreviations of *ergo* and *igitur* may be of use in dating a MS., since their presence in it is a fair sign that the MS. is not older than the 11th century.

In

Beneventan MSS. indicate the omission of the *n* in two ways. In one the long form of *i* is cut by a horizontal stroke (ŧ). This is the older way. In the other the horizontal stroke is placed over the short form of *i* (ī). The latter supplants the former.

The MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries do not abbreviate the word. The first instances known to me of ŧ = *in* occur in the MSS. Monte Cassino 332 (pp. 221–36) saec. ix/x, Monte Cassino 384 (pp. 113–58) saec. x in., and Monte Cassino 439 saec. x. In the first two MSS. the scribes whose handwriting is calligraphic do not use ŧ, whereas the pages in which this abbreviation occurs are in a very hurried and cursive hand. The script of the third MS. is also careless. The presumption is that the less calligraphic hands reflect

cursive methods of abbreviation. That this abbreviation for *in* was known to notarial scribes is attested by a Beneventan document of 810,[1] not to mention later ones.[2] In Monte Cassino 295 saec. x/xi the same observation is to be made. The form ŧ occurs only in the more cursively written portion of the book. In fact, its use furnishes another illustration of the tendency we recognized in the study of the typically Beneventan abbreviation for *eius*—namely that of introducing cursive elements into the book-hand.

Slow to win its way into book-writing, ŧ is found in MSS. of the 10th and early 11th centuries.[3] The form, however, was unfortunate. It could be mistaken for abbreviated *uel.* This explains why it gave way to ī, which form we occasionally find in Monte Cassino 303 c. a. 1019, Monte Cassino 111 c. a. 1023, and other Theobaldan MSS. From about the middle of the 11th century ī is practically the only form used.[4] Its frequent presence in a MS. is a fair sign that the MS. does not antedate the beginning of the 11th century, just as the constant recurrence of ŧ argues that it does.

As was to be expected, both forms of *in* occur in some MSS.: e.g. Monte Cassino 57 ante a. 1023, Monte Cassino 322 saec. xi, Monte Cassino 205 saec. xi, Flor. Laurent. 66. 1 saec. xi in., and Monte Cassino 372 saec. xi in. These may be considered to represent the transition period. The MSS. Monte Cassino 322 and 205 show numerous abbreviations which are peculiar to the Insular school. As ī is, moreover, typical of Insular MSS., it is not improbable that it came into Beneventan MSS. directly or indirectly through Insular models.

There is nothing remarkable about such a form as ī, found in the 11th-century MSS. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 50 (Vir-

[1] See above, p. 200, note 2.

[2] Cf. Benevento Capitol. doc. 2 (a. 949).

[3] When we find it in Munich 15826 we must remember that here a Beneventan scribe is writing Caroline minuscule. Cf. chapter v, p. 91, n. 2.

[4] Its frequent use in a Beneventan document of the year 1039 (Benevento, Archivio di S. Filippo Neri, vol. 12, doc. 14) is a sign that it was quite at home in MSS. before then.

gil), Monte Cassino 90, Naples VI AA 4, Rome Vallicell. T. XIII (foll. 229–42), and Vatic. Barb. lat. 160 (IX 29). The habit of writing *i*-longa in the word *in* was second nature to the Beneventan scribe; this, combined with the desire to avoid ī because of its similarity to the abbreviation of *uel*, may explain the above form. Its clumsiness prevented its spread.

Misericordia

The regular and only form in Beneventan MSS. after the end of the 8th century is mīa. Here in all probability the Beneventan preserves the old Italian tradition. For mīa is found in other Italian MSS. of the 8th–9th century, e. g. Novara Capitol. 84, Rome Sessor. 66 (2098), 41 (1479), and 38 (part i) (2095), Milan Ambros. I 2 sup. (Rome ?), Verona LXXXVI (Verona school). It is the form adopted in time by all but the Visigothic schools, which use, according to Traube (*Nomina Sacra*, p. 259), forms like msr̄cdia, msr̄cda, saec. ix, ms̄cda, ms̄da, saec. x. I found ms̄cdia in Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 2180 a. 992. The form m̄a, characteristic of the Veronese school, is, to my knowledge, not found in Beneventan MSS.

Noster, Vester, &c.

What is true of the abbreviation of *noster* and its cases holds for *uester* and its cases. The abbreviations of the latter were formed by analogy with those of the former.

The oldest known MSS. in South Italian minuscule are already in full possession of the normal forms which we are accustomed to find in MSS. after the Carolingian period. These forms are as follows (I enclose the rarer ones in parenthesis):

Singular		Plural	
n̄r (nēr)	nr̄a	nr̄i	nr̄e (nr̄ae)
nr̄i	nr̄e (nr̄ae)	nr̄o r̄um	nr̄a r̄um
nr̄o	,,	nr̄is	nr̄is
nr̄m	nr̄am	nr̄os	nr̄as.

Of the earlier nī-type of *noster* (nī = *nostri*, nō = *nostro*, &c.) mere vestiges remain. We find nī for *nostri* in Paris lat. 7530[1] saec. viii ex., fol. 59. The same MS. has nr for *nostro*, which is given by Traube as an instance of 'nr-indeclinable'.[2] Then we have nō = *nostro* in a Beneventan document of the year 840.[3] But that this system was no longer comprehended towards the end of the 9th century is seen from the expansion of nā to *nam* instead of *nostra* by the scribe of Flor. Laurent. 66. 40.[4] And when we find *non* for *nostro* in the 11th-century MS. of Seneca, Milan Ambros. C 90 inf.[5] the wrong expansion of nō does not surprise us. The mistake, moreover, may have existed in the archetype. The occasional occurrence of nō = *nostro* (saluatore nō ihu xpo, p. 269), uām = *uestram* (p. 232) in Monte Cassino 372 saec. xi in., is rather a hint of the age of the original than of the actual usage of the scribe.

It may be noted in passing that nosꝛ = *noster*, found in Cava 2 saec. viii ex. (Isidore's Etymologies), is not a new abbreviation of the word. The scribe merely took advantage of the familiar abbreviation ꝛ = *ter*.

In some MSS. of the end of the 11th century as well as in later ones we encounter forms of *noster* which appear like an unconscious revival of an older system employed in legal books and Notae Juris. The forms n̓ = *nostri*, n̊ = *nostra*, and m̊ = *nostrum* noted in Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi/xii; and n̓ = *nostri* in Vatic. lat. 4958 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex., Vatic. lat. 6082 (Monte Cassino) saec. xii, and Monte Cassino 640 saec. xii/xiii are not isolated phenomena. They are symptomatic of the custom then in vogue of abbreviating by means of superior letters, as is strikingly illustrated by the very phrase in which n̓ chiefly occurs: *domini nostri Iesu Christi* is abbreviated thus: dn̄i n̓ ı̆ x̊—a bold departure from the traditional way of abbreviating the 'Nomina Sacra'.

Of the forms given in the above table nēr demands special

[1] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 9. [2] Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 229.
[3] *Cod. Diplom. Cavensis*, vol. i, doc. xix.
[4] Traube, op. cit., p. 227. [5] Traube, op. cit., p. 211.

attention. Traube has shown that the logical nominative to a genitive nr̄i (*nostri*) is nēr (*noster*) and not n̄r̄, which we invariably find.[1] For n̄r̄ (*noster*) corresponds to n̄ī (*nostri*). That this was not a mere hypothesis he proved by citing the four MSS. known to him in which nēr actually occurs. The rarity of this abbreviation justifies a mention of all cases known to me. I give the MSS. in chronological order, enclosing in brackets those not in Beneventan script. In citing the passages with nēr I expand the other abbreviated words.

[Paris lat. 653 saec. viii/ix (Verona ?) foll. 66, 109.][2]

Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823 saec. ix, fol. 68, dominus et saluator nēr; fol. 173, redemptor nēr; also uēr = *uester*.

Rome Vallicell. C 9 (lower script of the palimpsest portion) saec. ix in., fol. 153, col. 1, last line.

[Einsiedeln 27 saec. ix in., foll. 11^{v}, 12, pater nēr; fol. 16^{v}, dominus nēr.]

[Vatic. Regin. lat. 1997 (Chieti) saec. ix, foll. 17, 136. The script resembles Beneventan.]

[Carlsruhe (Reich.) 3 saec. ix, fol. 15^{v}, redemptor nēr; fol. 199^{v}, creator autem nēr.]

Monte Cassino 575 saec. ix, p. 98, deus autem nēr.

Monte Cassino T XLV (part vi) saec. ix, fol. 1, aduersarius nēr.

Monte Cassino 3 saec. ix ex., p. 74, ipse dominus nēr.

[Vatic. lat. 4938 saec. viii, uncial: corrector who used nēr probably saec. ix, fol. 10, deus adiuuator nēr.]

Monte Cassino 374 saec. ix/x, p. 19, deus iam nēr; p. 329, hoc patriarcha nēr.

Monte Cassino 384 saec. x in., p. 38, quia rex nēr dilexit nos. Several more instances occur.

Rome Casanat. 641 (part ii) saec. x, fol. 108, dominus nēr Iesus Christus; fol. 121, Iesus Christus dominus nēr; fol. 183, dominus hedus nēr.

Paris lat. 335 (part ii) saec. x, fol. 145, dominus nēr (Christus).

Madrid B 3 saec. x, fol. 98, beatus nēr apostolus Paulus; fol.

[1] Traube, op. cit., p. 228. [2] As I learn from Prof. Souter.

212, dominus et saluator nēr Iesus Christus; fol. 229^{v}, dominus nēr uoluit; fol. 301, dominus nēr Iesus Christus.[1]

Troja, Rotulus (uēr in the 10th-century portions which strengthen the back of the roll).

Bari, Archivio del Duomo, Document a. 962 (has uēr).[2]

Benevento Capitol. IV 15 saec. x/xi, foll. 32^{v}, 42.

Monte Cassino 226 saec. xi in. (unpaged), qui sit habitator nēr.

Benevento, S. Filippo Neri, Document a. 1016, vol. 36, doc. 2.

Naples VI B 2 saec. xi in., fol. 211, dominus nēr; fol. 212, deus nēr; fol. 218, oculus nēr.

Naples VIII B 6 saec. xi.

Naples VIII B 7 saec. xi, fol. 47, dominus nēr.

Naples VIII B 8 saec. xi, fol. 9^{v}.

Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277 (Zara) saec. xi ex., fol. 90, Christus deus nēr.

Vienna 1188 (Naples) saec. xi, fol. 154, dominus deus uēr; fol. 225, frater nēr.

To these must be added the examples found by Spagnolo and Lindsay in MSS. of Verona.[3] They are: Verona XVI, XX, XXIX, XXX, XXXI, XXXVI, XLIII, XLIV (foll. 148^{v}, 149^{v}, 159), XLV (only once), LIV (foll. 28^{v}, 33), LXXXII (foll. 40, 74), LXXXVI (fol. 161^{v}), XCI (fol. 151^{v}), and XCII (foll. 28^{v}, 33^{v}). Lindsay also found nēr in four MSS. of the Corbie  type: Düsseldorf B 3, London Harley 3063 (has also uēr), Montpellier Univ. 69, and Paris lat. 11681.[4]

An examination of the above instances shows that, with one or two exceptions, they all come from Italian MSS. and that many of them are furnished by Beneventan scribes. These statistics point strongly to Italy as the home of nēr. This is

[1] Cf. Hartel-Loewe, *Bibliotheca patrum latinorum Hispaniensis*, i. 369, 372, 373, 374.

[2] *Cod. Diplom. Barese*, vol. i, doc. 4, facs. ii.

[3] A. Spagnolo, 'Abbreviature nel minuscolo Veronese,' in *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, xxvii (1910) 533, 536. This article cannot be used without the corrections published in the same journal, xxviii. 259 sqq.

[4] W. M. Lindsay, 'The Old Script of Corbie,' in *Revue des bibliothèques*, xxii (1912) 405–29.

borne out by the negative fact that Traube knew no cases outside of Italy, and Professor Lindsay in his extensive researches in early minuscule MSS. has found but a few examples in non-Italian MSS. The occurrence of the abbreviation in Beneventan MSS. and documents belonging to the developed period suggests that it was deeply rooted in South Italian tradition. The unusual abbreviation frer for *frater* (instead of fr or frr), found in Benevento VI 33 saec. x/xi and Vatic. lat. 4928 (Benevento) saec. xii in., is manifestly formed on the same principle as ner = *noster* and adds to the plausibility of our hypothesis. When we meet ner in the Dalmatian MS. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277 it is simply a sign that the Dalmatian scribes took over not only the Beneventan letters of their models but also their abbreviations.

As for the age of ner this much is certain: it must be older than the 9th century, as it is found in Beneventan MSS. of the beginning of that century. Moreover, we may be justified in regarding the company in which it is mostly found—the 'Nomina Sacra'—as further guarantee of antiquity.

Omnis

The abbreviation of *omnis* and its cases is one of those which can assist in determining the approximate age of a Beneventan MS. For there is an older and a younger system of abbreviating these words. Roughly speaking, the principle of the first system is the omission of *n*, that of the second the omission of *mn*.

I. From the middle of the 8th to about the middle of the 11th century the forms generally used by Beneventan scribes are:

omis ome	oms (omes)[1] oma, omia
omem	omium (omum)[2]
omi	omibus

[1] Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex. has the suspension om for *omnes*.

[2] Cf. Monte Cassino 124 saec. xi in.

Of the two forms for *omnia*, the oldest MSS. have only o$\overline{\text{mn}}$a. Both o$\overline{\text{mn}}$a and o$\overline{\text{mn}}$ia are found after the middle of the 9th century; cf. Naples VI B 12 a. 817–35, Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823, Flor. Laurent. 66. 40. In the 10th century o$\overline{\text{mn}}$ia gains ground, but o$\overline{\text{mn}}$a is still preferred. During the 11th century, however, o$\overline{\text{mn}}$a occurs less frequently, and o$\overline{\text{mn}}$ia becomes the more usual form, until the field is disputed by oīa. Although MSS. of the late 11th century show a preference for oīa, the older form o$\overline{\text{mn}}$ia is found even in MSS. of the 13th century.

The form o$\overline{\text{mn}}$es occurring in Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x in., Monte Cassino 38 saec. xi in., Monte Cassino 303 c. a. 1019 (p. 133), and Monte Cassino 133 saec. xi med. is relatively rare. The usual abbreviation of *omnes* is o$\overline{\text{mn}}$s. No competing forms arise till about the middle of the 11th century.

II. The more recent system shows the following forms:

oīs $\overline{\text{oe}}$	$\overline{\text{os}}$ oīa ($\overline{\text{oa}}$)
o$\overline{\text{e}}$m (oī$\overline{\text{e}}$m)	oī$\overline{\text{u}}$m
$\overline{\text{oi}}$[1]	oi$\overline{\text{b}}$us

These forms did not utterly drive out the earlier ones. There are numerous MSS. in which both are represented. But the second system is preferred by the more recent MSS. and is characteristic of them.

For the nominative plural we should expect o$\overline{\text{e}}$s. This Insular form, however, is hardly used. Instead, we encounter $\overline{\text{os}}$,[2] which occurs side by side with o$\overline{\text{mn}}$s. Perhaps the earliest instances of $\overline{\text{os}}$ in Beneventan MSS. are found in Monte Cassino 86 saec. xi, Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi, both considered Theobaldan but I think posterior,[3] and the famous Tacitus Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi. Other MSS. showing this form are: Flor. Laurent. 51. 10 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex., Flor. Laurent. 66. 21 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex., Oxford

[1] oīo for *omnino* belongs here. oī$\overline{\text{n}}$o, the more precise form, is commoner.

[2] Lindsay (*Contractions*, p. 39) found $\overline{\text{os}}$ in Lucca Capitol. 490 and Cologne 210; the latter has some typically Insular forms.

[3] Both MSS. show Insular influence, which may also explain their preference for the second system.

Bodl. Douce 127 (Sora) saec. xi ex., Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41 saec. xi/xii, Rome Vallicell. A 16 saec. xi, Vatic. lat. 4939 saec. xii in., and Monte Cassino 792 saec. xiii.

The insular form $\overline{oa}$ for *omnia* is relatively rare. It occurs in Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi and Vatic. lat. 3741 saec. xi ex.

Although it is impossible to fix upon the exact time in which the second system was introduced—such innovations occur gradually—we can determine approximately the limits within which the change of system must fall. Dated MSS. make this possible. It is safe to say that MSS. anterior to the 11th century do not use forms represented in the second system. This is probably true also of MSS. of the early part of the 11th century. Thus the scribes of Monte Cassino 148 a. 1010 and of Monte Cassino 5 a. 1011–22 still use forms of the first system. A few forms of the second system I have noted in Monte Cassino 552 (part i), which doubtless belongs to the beginning of the 11th century—yet several dated MSS. ante a. 1023 (Monte Cassino 28, 57, 132, and 303) do not as yet have it. In MSS. of the Desiderian period some of the forms are present, e.g. Monte Cassino 127.[1] All the forms of the new system are quite frequently used in MSS. of about the year 1100, not to say later ones, e. g. MSS. Naples VI E 43 a. 1099–1118, Munich 4623 a. 1098–1106, Paris Mazar. 364 a. 1099–1105, and Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585 a. 1099–1105.

From the above we may be justified in placing the beginning of the more general use of the second system in the latter half of the 11th century. That Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 a. 1094–1105 uses all the forms freely is a sign that they flourished considerably before the year 1100; while the fact that the dated MSS. of the beginning of the 11th century do not use them gives us the other limit of the system.

Here it should be noted that such forms as oīs, $\overline{oi}$, oēm, &c., appear in MSS. that employ abbreviations like hōīs, hōīe,

[1] In some of the beautiful liturgical books of the Desiderian period these forms are used with reluctance; in other Desiderian MSS. they are more frequent.

hoīes = *hominis, homine, homines*, and nōīs, nōīe, &c. = *nominis, nomine*; to which may be added aīa for *anima*.

The *s*-symbol (ʾ)

I. The presence of this symbol in Beneventan MSS. furnishes a *terminus ante quem non*, since it is not found before the 11th century.[1] I noted it first in Monte Cassino 303 c. a. 1019. Here, however, it is used but rarely and apparently by one hand. It is also found in Monte Cassino 125, which is considered as one of the MSS. executed at the order of Abbot Theobald (1022–35).[2] Here the symbol is already freely employed. It occurs in a few other MSS. of the first half of the 11th century, but the great majority belong to the second half or are later still.

At first the symbol is found at the end of a word occurring at the end of a line. Its use extends to the end of any word in the line, and gradually it is used in the body of the word. Found after one or two vowels at first, it soon occurs after all the vowels, and in time is employed after consonants also. To cite a few examples: in MS. Oxford Bodl. Douce 127 (Sora) saec. xi ex., I noted *inanimaʾ*, *denteʾ*, *cordiʾ*, *inimicoʾ*, *equiʾ*; in Vatic. lat 1349[3] saec. xi (fol. 67) *dignitaʾ*, *ordineʾ*, *iubentiʾ*, *ecclesiasticoʾ*, *huiuʾ*; likewise after a consonant (fol. 170) *nolenʾ*, in body of word (fol. 46) *potuiʾset*, *poʾsibili*.

It should be noted that this form of *s* is found in MSS. which use the same symbol for *us*. One must, therefore, be on one's guard against errors arising out of this double use. The possible ambiguity of the symbol may account for its relatively limited use.[4]

[1] It occurs to be sure in Monte Cassino 123 saec. x ex., but only in the 11th-century additions. The original scribe does not use it.

[2] The MS. may be more recent. It shows a system of abbreviations which is more typical of the end of the century. Yet script and style of interrogation-sign speak for the first half of the century.

[3] In this MS. ʾ also denotes *us*.

[4] For instance, eiʾ may be *eis* and *eius*; nimiʾ may be *nimis* and *nimius*;

It may be that the shortened form of the word *post*, which is frequently used in liturgical books, was the means of introducing this form of *s*. In Beneventan MSS. *post* is often abbreviated by an uncial *s* written above the *p*. It is also abbreviated by the apostrophe. Many MSS. have the uncial *s* suprascript at the end of words.[1] Instead of this *s*, scribes began to use the shorter form found in the abbreviation of *post*. Be that as it may, the uncial *s* is found in MSS. which also use the apostrophe to denote *s*.[2]

I have found this symbol for *s* in nearly 100 MSS. written wholly or in part by Beneventan scribes.[3] It doubtless occurs in many other MSS. posterior to the 11th century. As this palaeographical feature is comparatively little known, to judge from the fact that Wattenbach and Delisle had each met it in but a single MS.,[4] I cite most of the Beneventan MSS. in which I have found it. These are:

Bologna Univ. 2843 (San Salvatore 486) (Monte Cassino) a. 1070; Cheltenham 3069 saec. xii; Escorial L III 19 saec. xii; Flor. Laurent. 51. 10 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi; Laurent. 66. 21 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex.; Monte Cassino 1 saec. xi; M. C. Regesto No. 4; M. C. 20 saec. xi; M. C. 47 a. 1159–73; M. C. 86 saec. xi; M. C. 99 saec. xi; M. C. 111 saec. xi; M. C. 123 (in addit. saec. xi in.); M. C. 125 saec. xi; M. C. 127 (part i) saec. xi ex.; M. C. 127 (part ii) saec. xii (p. 541); M. C. 133 saec. xi med.; M. C. 179 saec. xi; M. C. 191 (part i) saec. xi med.; M. C. 195 saec. xi ex.; M. C. 205 saec. xi; M. C. 217 saec. xi; M. C. 226 saec. xi in. (p. 173); M. C. 275 saec. xi ex.; M. C. 292

leui' may be *leuis* and *leuius*, &c. The same symbol for *s* and *us* will be found in MSS. Monte Cassino 125 and 205, Vatic. lat. 1349, 3549, 3741, and Archivio Vaticano Regesti Vat. 1; not to mention a great many others.

[1] The list is a long one. I mention only Monte Cassino 5 a. 1011–22, Monte Cassino 298 saec. xi, Flor. Laurent. 68. 2 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi.

[2] To instance but a few cases: Monte Cassino 125 saec. xi, Flor. Laurent. 51. 10 saec. xi ex., Vatic. lat. 595 saec. xi ex., Archivio Vaticano Regesti Vat. 1 saec. xi ex., Munich 4623 saec. xi/xii.

[3] In some of the MSS. it occurs occasionally, in others very frequently.

[4] See below, p. 215 sq.

saec. xi; M. C. 302 saec. xi ex.; M. C. 303 c. a. 1019 (pp. 122, 129, &c.); M. C. 434 saec. xi; M. C. 462 saec. xi med.; M. C. 506 saec. xi (palimpsest); M. C. 543 saec. xi; M. C. 552 (part ii) saec. xi (pp. 207 sqq.); M. C. 640 saec. xii/xiii; M. C. 760 saec. xi; Munich 4623 (Monte Cassino) a. 1098–1106; Naples VI AA 3 saec. xi ex.; Nap. VI F 2 saec. xi/xii; Nap. VI G 31 saec. xi ex.; Nap. VIII B 3 saec. xi; Nap. VIII B 4 saec. xi; Oxford Bodl. Douce 127 (Sora) saec. xi ex.; Paris lat. 10308 (marginalia) saec. xi; Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1628 (foll. 19–26) saec. xi; Salerno Archiv. Capitol., Gospel of Luke, &c., *s. n.*; Rome Vallicell. A 16 saec. xi; Vall. B 24 (Subiaco) addit. post a. 1075; Vall. B 32 (Veroli) c. a. 1060; Vall. C 32 saec. xi; Vall. D 5 saec. xi; Vall. T. XIII (foll. 229–42) saec. xi; Vall. T. XXII saec. xi/xii; Vatic. lat. 595 saec. xi ex.; Vat. 1202 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex.; Vat. 1349 saec. xi; Vat. 3227 (Monte Cassino) saec. xii in.; Vat. 3281 saec. xii in.; Vat. 3340 saec. xi; Vat. 3539 saec. xi ex.; Vat. 3741 saec. xi ex.; Vat. 5735 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi post med.; Vat. Barb. 160 (IX 29) saec. xi.; Vat. Barb. 631 (XIV 4) (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex.; Vat. Barb. 2724 (XXXIV 41) saec. xii in.; Vat. Ottob. 1939 (Monte Cassino) saec. xi ex.; Archivio Vaticano Regesti Vat. 1 saec. xi ex.; Rome Vittor. Eman. 2030 = Sessor. 81 saec. xii/xiii.[1]

It will be noted that the majority of the examples are from MSS. written in Monte Cassino.

II. This symbol is not limited to Beneventan MSS. R. Poupardin[2] noted it in a document of Saint-Germain-des-Prés dated September 3, 790.[3] Attention to its use in a single MS. was called by Wattenbach;[4] also by É. Chatelain in his description of St. Gall 864 saec. xi.[5] Slight mention of it is

[1] This form of *s* is used even in the abbreviation ẋ = *Christus*. The apostrophe can hardly be equivalent to *us* here since the oblique cases, *Christi*, *-o*, *-um*, are denoted by *x* with suprascript *i*, *o*, *m*, that is, by the first and the last letter.

[2] R. P(oupardin), *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, lxviii (1907) 426.

[3] Paris Archives Nationales (K 7, no. 11[2]).

[4] *Anleitung zur lat. Pal.*[4], pp. 70–1: 'In einer Hs. saec. x/xi steht ' häufig für *us*, aber auch für *s*: *anno*' = annos.'

[5] Chatelain, *Paléogr. des class. lat.* i. 15: description of plate LIV.

made by M. Prou.[1] However, our chief source of information is an article by Delisle reporting the observations of De Vries and Traube.[2] As the majority of the thirteen MSS. cited by these scholars were from the north of France, it seemed fair to conclude, as Delisle did, that it was especially at home there. The supposition, however, will hardly seem tenable any longer in view of the numerous Italian MSS. in which this curious form of *s* is found. In the sixty odd Beneventan MSS. just enumerated the symbol occurs both in the middle of the word and at the end; and it is most likely that it exists in many other Beneventan MSS. The twenty odd non-Beneventan MSS. with ' which have come to my notice[3] are for the most part in the script of Rome and vicinity. Many of these MSS. show unmistakable dependence upon Beneventan archetypes. These facts go to show that this symbol flourished in the scriptoria of southern and central Italy, particularly in Monte Cassino. Till more facts are forthcoming, the home of the sign ' cannot be decided. It was most likely Italy.[4] I give a list of Italian MSS. written in ordinary minuscule which employ this symbol :—

Bamberg B II 9 (chiefly after *u*, avaru' ipsiu'); Bamb. M V 10; Bologna Univ. 1576 saec. xi (after vowels, consonants, and even in the word); Cava 7 saec. xi/xii (part of the MS. is by a contemporaneous Beneventan scribe); Monte Cassino 3 (the draft of a letter from Abbot Desiderius); M. C. 191 (part ii) pp. 129–41 (the rest of the MS. is in Beneventan writing); Rome Basilicanus F I 1 (Roman school); Rome Lateran. 80 (Roman

[1] *Manuel de paléographie* (2nd ed., p. 67) cited by Poupardin.

[2] Delisle (De Vries-Traube), 'De l'emploi du signe abréviatif ' à la fin des mots,' in *Bibl. de l'École des chartes*, lxvii (1906) 591 sq. Reference to this is made by Steffens (*Lat. Pal.*, 2nd ed., p. xxxix) who further cites the presence of this symbol in a Münchenwiler MS.

[3] Since writing this I have met with a number of other instances in Italian MSS. It is hardly necessary to give a list of them.

[4] This hypothesis gains in probability from the fact that the documents of Ravenna of the 11th century, as Signor Buzzi kindly informs me, make frequent use of this form of *s*. I have also noted it in a Florentine document of 1076. Cf. *Collezione Fiorentina*, pl. 21.

school) †; Rome Vallicell. B 24 (Roman school) ‡; Vall. E 16 (Roman school)†; Vatic. lat. 378 (Roman school)‡; Vat. 1406; Vat. 3251[1]; Vat. 3764 (Roman school)‡; Vat. 3833 (Roman school) a. 1099–1118; Vat. 4418; Vat. 4920; Vat. 6808 (Roman school); Vat. Barb. 646 (XIV 19) (Roman school)‡; Rome Vittor. Eman. 1364 = Sessor. 45 a. 1002–35; Vitt. Em. 1568 = Sessor. 31; Subiaco Archiv. di S. Scholastica, Regestum Sublacense (Roman school) a. 1068–1120.

TUR

No other Beneventan abbreviation has had so interesting a development as *tur*. During the five centuries in which the script was used, the *tur*-symbol went through a variety of forms and certain distinct phases. If we can determine the order of those phases and the approximate duration of each, we shall have obtained an important criterion for dating Beneventan MSS. Such a determination, which is possible by means of dated MSS., is here attempted. I give the results first; the evidence follows.

1. The earliest method of denoting *tur* was by a sinuous vertical line, or by a horizontal line, both of which are the general abbreviation-strokes of the period: , .
2. The second method was by a curved, comma-like stroke just touching the cross-stroke of the *t*: .
3. The last method was by a symbol resembling arabic number 2, placed above the *t* so that the base of the 2 was parallel with the top of the *t*: . In some MSS. the 2-sign is placed obliquely over the *t*: .
1. The first method (,) is found in MSS. dating from the 8th to the first half of the 10th century.

† Either the original of the MS. was in Beneventan or the scriptorium which produced it had close relations with South Italian centres. This I conclude from the presence of the typically Beneventan interrogation-sign, cf. pp. 258 sqq.

‡ Some additions are in Beneventan.

[1] Knowledge of this MS. I owe to the courtesy of Mgr. Vattasso, who considers it of North Italian origin; cf. *Studi Medievali*, i. 123, notes to lines 13 and 19.

2. The second method () is found in MSS. of the second half of the 10th and first third of the 11th century.

3. All later MSS. show the third method ().

The evidence supporting the above statements is given in the following order: first, the usage of the dated MSS.; then that of the undated; thirdly, of transition MSS.; fourthly, of corrections and additions; and lastly, of certain documents.

(*a*) *Dated MSS.* An examination of several hundred Beneventan MSS. shows that, as regards the order in which the various *tur*-symbols came into use, the evidence of the dated MSS. is practically consistent. The latest form was . All the dated MSS. reproduced in *Scriptura Beneventana* and those not included there prove that. That the form which preceded was is attested by the dated MSS. Monte Cassino 269 ante a. 949 and Monte Cassino 230 a. 969–87. The eight dated MSS. between the end of the 8th and the middle of the 10th century[1] all show either *t* with the horizontal or *t* with the vertical sinuous stroke or similar forms, but neither nor .

(*b*) *Undated MSS.* If the usage noted in the dated MSS. was not due to accident, it should be confirmed by the usage of the MSS. which can only be approximately dated. And as a matter of fact, the evidence of the undated MSS., as illustrated by our plates, corroborates that of the dated. In over 200 MSS. which, judged by their script, belong to the period between 1050 and 1300, *tur* is always abbreviated by and never by or . In 50 MSS. which antedate the middle of the 10th century many forms are used, but never occurs. On the other hand is the form found in MSS. which palaeographers would agree in placing somewhere between 950 and 1050. The order, then, of the three stages seems fairly clear. But the matter is placed beyond question by a consideration of the transition MSS. and corrections.

(*c*) *Transition MSS.* If one form of *tur* gave way to the next in the order just established, it follows that MSS. con-

[1] See *Script. Benev.*, plates 9, 10, 13, 14, 24, 33, 39, 40.

taining both the losing and the winning form ought to belong to a period between that marking the exclusive use of the one and that marking the exclusive use of the other. This is actually the case. We find  and  used by contemporaneous scribes in the dated MSS. Vatic. Pal. lat. 909[1] a. 977–1026, Monte Cassino 148[2] a. 1010, Monte Cassino 303[3] circa a. 1019, Monte Cassino 5[4] a. 1011–22, and Monte Cassino 57[5] and 132[6], both ante a. 1023. According to the evidence of the dated MSS. this is precisely the period between the exclusive use of and the exclusive use of . I give some details :—

Vatic. Pal. lat. 909. *tur* rarely abbreviated. is found on foll. 347, 347^{v}, 350^{v}. And (with 2-sign placed obliquely) occurs on foll. 160^{v}, 257. A somewhat later corrector uses regularly.

Monte Cassino 148. The roundish hand used the form (foll. 108, 236, 239, 250–1, 263, &c.). The more calligraphic hand used (foll. 2^{v}, 17^{v}, 25, 231, &c.).

Monte Cassino 303. The first hand writes to p. 6, col. 1, using . On p. 1, col. 1, a slipped in. The following hands use . On p. 164, col. 1 (middle), a new hand begins which consistently employs the . On p. 21, col. 2, a was used by a scribe who commonly uses the . It is the period of transition and indecision.

Monte Cassino 5. Pp. i–viii have ; the rest of the MS. ; both parts contemporaneous.

Monte Cassino 57. Between pp. 1–90 I found the form. The is found between pp. 159–92, 243–319. The last hand uses the . Both forms are to be seen on pp. 90, 100, 192, and 319. Plainly a transition MS.

[1] Cf. Traube, *Perrona Scottorum*, p. 472.

[2] Cf. Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, i. 178 ; *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, iii. 306.

[3] Cf. Gattula, *Historia abbatiae Cassinensis*, i. 81 ; *Bibl. Casin.* v. 77.

[4] Caravita, op. cit., p. 178 ; *Bibl. Casin.* i. 109.

[5] Cf. Caravita, op. cit., p. 180 ; *Bibl. Casin.* ii. 124.

[6] Caravita, op. cit., p. 180 ; *Bibl. Casin.* iii. 190 sqq. and Amelli, *Miniature sacre e profane dell' anno 1023* (Monte Cassino 1896).

Monte Cassino 132. Both forms occur on pp. 50, 51, 144, 145. But α^{2} is the rule.

To test this evidence let us examine the following undated MSS. :—

Flor. Laurent. 66. 1[1] saec. xi in. Many hands wrote this MS. The scribe who uses † for *in* employs α^{2}. Others use $\overset{2}{\alpha}$. The MS. has unmistakable ear-marks of the Codices Theobaldini (1022–35) and is doubtless of Cassinese origin.

Monte Cassino 102[2] saec. xi in. The hand between pp. 286–332 used α^{2}, the hand preceding used $\overset{2}{\alpha}$ (the 2-sign at an angle). This form also occurs on pp. 68, 110, 283. On p. 282 α^{2} is used by the same hand that on p. 283 wrote $\overset{2}{\alpha}$.

Monte Cassino 103[3] saec. xi in. A number of scribes worked on the MS. The form α^{2} is found on pp. 40, 178, 184, 267, *et passim*. The hand beginning with p. 333 used $\overset{2}{\alpha}$.

Monte Cassino 124[4] saec. xi in. As a rule $\overset{2}{\alpha}$ is used. Cf. pp. 116, 163, 188, 192, 287, 344, 431, *et passim*. The hand between p. 418, col. 2, and p. 425 writes α^{2}. Both forms occur on pp. 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, &c.

Monte Cassino 295[5] saec. x/xi. One scribe (pp. 98–112) used $\overset{2}{\alpha}$, the others α^{2}. The careful hand on pp. 65–92 used α^{2}. But on p. 69 both forms occur.

Monte Cassino 297 (part ii)[6] pp. 137–264 saec. xi in. The scribe begins with α^{2} but soon goes over to $\overset{2}{\alpha}$.

Monte Cassino 324[7] saec. xi in. The hands between pp. 1–74

[1] Bandini (*Catal. Codd. Lat. Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, ii. 782) dates it saec. xi.

[2] Caravita (op. cit. i. 179) includes the MS. among those written under the abbots of the beginning of the 11th century, precisely where it belongs. *Bibl. Casin.* (ii. 418) puts it saec. xi.

[3] Caravita (op. cit., p. 167) dates it saec. xi, the *Bibl. Casin.* (ii. 430) saec. x/xi.

[4] Caravita (op. cit., p. 180) and *Bibl. Casin.* (iii. 117) date the MS. saec. xi in. I do not think it older than the period of Theobald (1022–35).

[5] Caravita (op. cit., p. 102) puts it in the list of Capuan MSS. The *Bibl. Casin.* (v. 63) dates it saec. x in. The occasional use of the final interrogation-sign (pp. 212, 213, 214) incline me to place it rather saec. xi in. than saec. x ex.

[6] *Bibl. Casin.* (v. 70) dates this part of the MS. saec. x ex.

[7] Caravita (op. cit., p. 167) dates the MS. saec. xi.

used ꝛ̄. However, on p. 16 ꝛ² slipped in. Between pp. 75–251 the original scribes used ꝛ², the rewritten leaves have ꝛ̄.

Monte Cassino 349[1] saec. xi in. The hand between pp. 70–86 used ꝛ², the other scribes have ꝛ̄.

Monte Cassino 372[2] saec. xi in. Between pp. 1–148 ꝛ² was used; between pp. 149–217, ꝛ̄. The rest of the MS. has the form ꝛ².

Monte Cassino 552[3] (part i) saec. xi in. The scribe of pp. 1–160 used ꝛ² as a rule. On p. 122, besides six instances of ꝛ², there are three cases of ꝛ̄. He continues to use the ꝛ² to p. 160. There he breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and is followed by a contemporaneous, more expert hand which finishes the book. This hand uses ꝛ̄ only.[4]

That these MSS. are transition ones is sufficiently clear from the indecision evinced by scribes using both forms. It is, furthermore, hardly a mere coincidence that ten MSS. which belong by common consent to about the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century—that is, to the period between the exclusive use of ꝛ² and the exclusive use of ꝛ̄—have both these forms. Their simultaneous use and the visible struggle between them can have meaning only in transition MSS. We understand why ꝛ̄ won the field when we presently meet ꝛ² for *tus*. That this new value of ꝛ² is found, as a rule, in MSS. written *after* the beginning of the 11th century is precisely in conformity with what has been said of the period marking the use of ꝛ² for *tur*.

I have noted only two MSS. which abbreviate *tur* by both ꝛ̄ and ꝛ². Flor. Laurent. Ashburnh. 55 belongs without the least doubt to the second half of the 10th century.[5] It furnishes

[1] Caravita's date is saec. xi (op. cit., p. 167); the same date in *Bibl. Casin.* (v, pars 1, p. 149).

[2] Caravita (op. cit., p. 112) puts the MS. in the 10th century.

[3] Caravita (op. cit., p. 179) classes this MS. with those written under the abbots of the beginning of the 11th century. I should say under Theobald (1022–35).

[4] To the MSS. cited above may be added Monte Cassino 23 and 100.

[5] The more recent date given by Paoli can hardly be right. See *I codici*

an example of the transition from ꝛ̄ to ꝛ². In Monte Cassino 38 we also find these two forms, but the MS. is hardly a transition one, unless indeed its writing, which is like that of Monte Cassino 42 saec. xi in., is no criterion of its age. It seems to belong to saec. xi in., and the occasional use of ꝛ̄ may be due to slavish copying from an exemplar which thus abbreviated *tur.* Of the MSS. with the two forms ꝛ̄ and ꝛ̲ I shall speak below.

(*d*) *The evidence of corrections and additions.* Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix ex.[1] The 11th-century corrector who expanded in the margin obsolete or ambiguous abbreviations (cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 21) wrote ꝛ̲ for *tur.* On pp. 110 and 147 we can see original ꝛ̄ transformed by him into ꝛ̲.

Monte Cassino 439 saec. x.[2] The different scribes of the MS. wrote ꝛ̄ (the right end of the stroke occasionally curves up). The addition on p. 144, to judge from script and ink, is plainly posterior. It has only ꝛ² and not ꝛ̄.

Monte Cassino 78 saec. x.[3] On p. 118 an 11th-century corrector changed original ꝛ̄ to ꝛ̲.

Vatic. lat. 3317 saec. x ex. has regularly ꝛ². On fol. 67 a corrector changed ꝛ² to ꝛ̲.

Vatic. Pal. lat. 909 a. 977–1026 (see above, p. 219). The posterior additions (*passim*), which are of the 11th century (first half), have regularly ꝛ̲. The text has ꝛ² and ꝛ̲.

Monte Cassino 57 ante a. 1023 (see above, p. 219). Written by order of Abbot Theobald (1022–35). The MS. has both ꝛ² and ꝛ̲. On p. 8 (*et passim*) we can plainly see ꝛ² transformed to ꝛ̲.

Ashburnhamiani della R. Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana di Firenze, p. 17 (= Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. Indici e Cataloghi viii, vol. i, Roma 1887–96) and Delisle, *Notice sur les mss. du fonds Libri conservés à la Laurentienne de Florence*, p. 32.

[1] Caravita (op. cit., p. 42) dates it saec. ix; *Bibl. Casin.* (iv. 75) has the same date.

[2] Caravita (op. cit., p. 180) gives no reason for his date (saec. xi in.), which is untenable. Cf. Amelli, *Spicileg. Casin.* i (1893) pp. lxxxv, 363; facs., pl. 5.

[3] Caravita (op. cit., p. 146) has the same date. The *Bibl. Casin.* (ii. 294) dates it saec. xi in., 'tempore Theobaldi ab.', which can hardly be right.

Monte Cassino 303 circa a. 1019 (see above, p. 219). Also Theobaldan. Both ꝛ² and ꝛ̃ are used. From p. 164, col. 1, to end ꝛ² is the regular form. The addition on p. 224 has ꝛ̃.

Monte Cassino 25 (part i) saec. xi in.[1] Original ꝛ² is often changed to ꝛ̃, as may easily be seen on pp. 20 and 62.

Monte Cassino 324 saec. xi in.[2] Between pp. 1–74 ꝛ̃ was used. Between pp. 75–251 we regularly find ꝛ². In this part a corrector often erased the end of the stroke over ꝛ and made ꝛ̃ out of the original ꝛ². A good example is seen on p. 91. It need hardly be stated that the form cancelled or erased by a corrector was the form that had grown obsolete; and that the additions by later hands showed forms which naturally corresponded to the usage of the time.

(*e*) *The evidence of documents.* Though of importance this evidence must be used with caution, as the exigencies of cursive and of calligraphic writing are different. Moreover, I am aware that my data for the cursive are by no means exhaustive. As far as my observation goes, notaries of the 9th and 10th centuries seem to avoid the abbreviation of *tur.*[3] I find it still written out in a Capuan document of 993,[4] and in a Bari document as late as 1021,[5] in which ꝛ̄ = *ter*. The form ꝛ̄ for *tur*, which we rarely find in MSS. after 950, is still to be seen in 11th-century documents—a proof of the conservatism of notarial writing. I noted it in two documents from Benevento,

[1] The same date in Caravita (op. cit., p. 179) and *Bibl. Casin.* i. 260.

[2] Caravita (op. cit., p. 167) dates it saec. xi.

[3] Cf. Cava, doc. a. 791 (facs. Silvestre, *Paléog. univers.* iii, pl. 137); Diploma Grimoaldi a. 810 (facs. Piscicelli Taeggi, *Paleog. artistica di Montecassino*, pl. 34 and *Script. Benev.*, pl. 6); Cava, doc. a. 817 (facs. Silvestre, ibid. iii, pl. 140ª); Benevento, Capitol. doc. a. 839, doc. a. 840 (facs. *Cod. Diplom. Cavens.*, vol. i, charta 19); Cava, doc. a. 840–51 (facs. Silvestre, ibid. iii, pl. 140ᵇ); Benevento, S. Filippo Neri, doc. 6, vol. xii, a. 872, doc. a. 899 (facs. *Cod. Diplom. Cavens.*, vol. i, charta 111); Benevento, Capitol. doc. 2, a. 949, doc. a. 952 (facs. *Cod. Diplom. Barese*, vol. i, pl. 1); Monte Cassino, capsule 14, no. 27 = Capuan doc. a. 961; doc. a. 962 (facs. *Cod. Diplom. Barese*, vol. i, pl. 2 = doc. no. 4).

[4] Monte Cassino, capsule 14, no. 18.

[5] Facs. in *Cod. Diplom. Barese*, vol. i, pl. 3 = doc. no. 10

of the years 1015 and 1023,[1] and in one from Avellino near Naples, of the year 1054.[2] In a document of 1039 from Benevento,[3] however, *tur* and *ter* are perfectly distinguished: $\bar{\text{cr}}$ = *ter*, $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$ = *tur*. This is the rule in later documents. The documents tend to confirm our order in its broad outlines.

So much for the evidence.

From what has been said we should not expect to find MSS. showing the contemporaneous use of $\bar{\text{cr}}$ and $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$. Yet at least three such MSS. exist.[4] Monte Cassino 97 saec. x in. has the form $\bar{\text{cr}}$ between pp. 22–170. Elsewhere $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$ is found, sometimes on the same page with $\bar{\text{cr}}$. Monte Cassino 332 (part i) saec. ix/x has $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$ in the text, the somewhat posterior glosses have $\bar{\text{cr}}$. Glasgow Univ. Hunter. MS. V 3. 2 saec. x in. has $\bar{\text{cr}}$ in most cases, but $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$ was also used. The usage in these three MSS. cannot counterbalance the evidence of several hundred. The apparent anomaly can be accounted for in this way: consciously or unconsciously the form of the original, which had $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$, was imitated. There is nothing strange about this. When we consider that during the 9th century, and certainly after it, most MSS. written north of the Beneventan zone—I except the Insular MSS.—used the 2-sign over *t* to express *tur*, and that such MSS. must often have been the exemplars from which the Beneventan scribes copied, it does not seem improbable either that a scribe through carelessness let the foreign form slip in, or that conscious though premature attempts were made to introduce it, in order to make the distinction found in the exemplars between abbreviated *tur* and *ter*. This would also explain the consistent use of $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$ in Munich 337 saec. x, my only other exception. The important facts remain: the form $\overset{\text{u}}{\text{cr}}$ did

[1] Benevento, S. Filippo Neri, documents 8 and 9 of vol. xii.

[2] Facs. in *Cod. Diplom. Cavens.*, vol. vii, pl. 2=charta 1190.

[3] Benevento, S. Filippo Neri, doc. 14 of vol. xii.

[4] It is possible that others may exist, yet it is not likely that their number will be so large as to raise them above being exceptions. My list contains, I believe, very nearly all the old Beneventan MSS. extant, and later ones do not come into consideration.

not come into general use before the year 1030, and the form ꝛ̄ remained in constant use till the middle of the 10th century[1]; and ꝛ² is found in MSS. which fall between these two periods. MSS. with both ꝛ̄ and ꝯ, or the presence of ꝛ̄ in an 11th-century MS., or vice versa the presence of ꝯ in a 9th- or 10th-century MS., can only be regarded as exceptions.

It is interesting to observe that the abbreviation of *mur* by means of m̃ antedates the form ꝯ for *tur*. In Monte Cassino 446 saec. x/xi *tur* is expressed by ꝛ² but *mur* by m̃. This is also the case in Monte Cassino 132 ante a. 1023.

The 2-sign with *t* did not always signify omitted *ur* in Beneventan MSS.[2] Curiously enough, it represents *er* in Paris lat. 335 (part ii) saec. x and in some Beneventan documents.[3]

If it be objected that most of our evidence is based upon Monte Cassino MSS., it should be remembered that the great majority of Beneventan MSS. do actually come from Monte Cassino. But this fact does not mean that the results obtained reflect merely the local usage of Monte Cassino. The products of the other South Italian schools as well as the documents examined furnish evidence in no way at variance with the Cassinese.

The history of the *tur*-abbreviation in Beneventan MSS. is as simple as it is instructive. It shows gradual evolution from the less to the more differentiated form and readjustment of values to suit new conditions. At first the same form

[1] Of course the form did not die out at once. The MSS. Monte Cassino 77 and 402 belong to the end of the 10th century, yet they show the first phase of the *tur*-abbreviation. These MSS. may have been written by old and expert scribes who had continued to use the form they had learnt in the first half of the century.

[2] For its use as a general abbreviation-sign cf. p. 165.

[3] Cf. facs. of Charta DCXLIX (a. 1012) in *Cod. Diplom. Cavens.*, vol. iv; Benevento, S. Filippo Neri, doc. 2, vol. xxxvi (a. 1016); and the document from Vietri near Potenza of the year 1019 now in Cava, Archivio della badia, arca vi, no. 92, facs. in *Archivio Pal. Ital.* vii, pl. 21.

represented *tur* and *ter*. To avoid possible confusion *tur* began to be abbreviated by .[1] For at least two generations scribes used this form. Then the competition began between and , the form which was used almost everywhere outside the Beneventan zone,[2] and had in fact been tentatively admitted and rejected at the end of the 9th century.[3] The field was completely won by before the year 1030. When *tur* could be abbreviated only by means of , the old *tur*-form, , began to signify *tus*,[4] as in most Continental MSS.

The history of *tur* admirably illustrates the slowness with which Beneventan schools progressed. In the 10th century they introduced the form which had elsewhere been discarded more than a century before. The form finally adopted in the 11th century, , had been used in Caroline MSS. as early as the 9th century.[5]

[1] The form often found in early Continental minuscule MSS. and regularly in Irish MSS.

[2] Excepting Insular and Spanish schools.

[3] Cf. the four MSS. mentioned above, p. 224.

[4] To be sure this abbreviation of *tus* occurs in a few MSS. which antedate the 11th century (see above, p. 197), but they are clearly the exceptions. The frequent use of for *tus* I first noted in the MSS. Vatic. lat. 4948 saec. xi in. and Vatic. lat. 1349 saec. xi med.

[5] Cf. Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*, 2nd ed., pl. 46, facs. of the Zürich Alcuin-bible.

CHAPTER IX

PUNCTUATION[1]

In the history of Beneventan punctuation two epochs are to be noted. The first comprises the MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries, the second the later MSS.

I. MSS. of the first epoch show no uniform system of punctuation, and at times it is impossible to discern any system whatever. Any formulation of the scribal usage must, therefore, take certain reservations for granted. Without, however, adding to the confusion by frequent qualification and enumeration of exceptions, attention may be called to the following facts.

The most common method of punctuation during the first epoch is the mere point (.), used alike for the large and the small pause. It sometimes resembles our comma in form. When the point is equivalent to a period the following letter is usually a capital; but there are also cases where the period is followed by a small letter and, conversely, where a capital letter occasionally follows a pause which is less than a period.

Next in frequency after the mere point for the period is the combination of point followed by comma (.,) for the main pause and the mere point for the lesser pauses. This punctuation is found in MSS. which also employ the simple point as period.

In a few MSS. we find the point above the comma (;) for the main pause and the mere point for the briefer pauses. In some other MSS. again, an angular sort of comma (7), not

[1] On punctuation in general see *Nouveau Traité*, iii. 464 sqq. and Wattenbach, *Anleitung*[4], pp. 89 sqq. Our text-books base chiefly upon Wattenbach.

unlike arabic number 7, is used for the period. However, in a few of these MSS. the period is denoted by the mere point as well as by the 7-like comma.

Here it is important to note that the presence, in MSS. of this epoch, of the punctuation which became typical of the developed script (⁘ ⁂ ⁘ ⁄), including the characteristic sign of interrogation (see below, p. 239), is invariably due to additions by later correctors.

II. Toward the end of the 9th century, apparently as the result of a conscious reform, a new system was introduced which rapidly came into general use. Although a foreign importation (since it is used a full century earlier in MSS. written in Charlemagne's court)[1] it remained in steady use among Beneventan scribes for fully four centuries, that is, from the end of the 9th to the end of the 13th century. Owing to its constant use in Beneventan centres and its gradual disuse elsewhere, this system became a characteristic of the South Italian minuscule. The history of this punctuation recalls the history of certain letters and ligatures (*a*, *t*, *i*-longa, and ꝙ) which, though non-Beneventan in origin, eventually became Beneventan features by dint of their long and constant employment in South Italian schools after their abandonment by the centres which first adopted them.

The signs comprised in this system,[2] with their ancient designations[3] and approximate modern equivalents, are as follows:

⁘ or ⁂ or ⁘ = distinctio finalis = finitiva = period.
⁘ = distinctio media = constans = colon or semicolon.
⁄ or / = subdistinctio = suspensiva = comma.[4]

[1] e.g. in the lectionary written by Godesscalc in 781 (facs. in Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*², pl. 45), and in one part of the Trèves Ada-Gospels.

[2] On the interrogation-sign which formed part of the Beneventan system see the full discussion given below, pp. 236 sqq.

[3] Wattenbach, op. cit., pp. 89, 91.

[4] The Latin grammarians merely translate the Greek terms (Wattenbach, p. 89). The method described by Isidore (*Etymol.* i. 20) is practicable only in

A clearer idea of the practice of Beneventan scribes may be obtained from an examination of a few representative passages which I subjoin. They are taken from both liturgical and non-liturgical MSS.—that is, from books used for chanting and reading aloud as well as from MSS. used for private perusal. Naturally no attempt can be made to reproduce the many varieties of these signs.

1. Monte Cassino 175 a. 915–934, Paulus Diac., Expos. Reg. S. Benedicti.[1]

This MS., written by Iaquinto for Abbot Johannes of Capua, doubtless gives us the best penmanship and punctuation of the time.

p. 255. In conuentu tamen omnino breuietur oratio. et facto signo a priore ./ omnes pariter surgant ·,·

2. Vatic. Pal. lat. 909 a. 977–1026, Vegetius, Epitoma rei militaris.[2]

fol. 338. Ordinaturus acie ./ tria debet ante prospicere. solem. puluerem. uentum. Nam sol ante faciem ./ eripit uisum. uentus contrarius ./ tua inflectit ac deprimit. hostium ./ adiuuat tela. &c.

the case of square and rustic capitals and uncials, for the distinction of high, low, and middle points would hardly be noticeable in minuscule scripts. The systems described by later mediaeval writers correspond more closely to the usage found in our MSS. Thus Thomas Capuanus (†1243) writes: 'tres distinctiones considerantur existere, quarum prima *comma*, secunda *colon*, tertia *periodos* appellatur. Comma est punctum cum virgula superius ducta, scil. quum adhuc sensus suspensus remanet auditori. Colon est punctum planum cum animus auditoris necesse non habet aliud expectare, et tamen aliquid addi potest. Periodos est punctum cum virgula inferius ducta, quum animus auditoris amplius non expectat nec amplius querit discere intentionem proponentis,' &c. (ed. Hahn in *Collectio monumentorum veterum et recentium* (Braunschweig 1724) i. 293). The same system is taught by a Roman notary of the 13th century, cited by Ch. Thurot in his excellent treatise entitled 'Notices et extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge', published in *Notices et extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, xxii (1868) part 2, p. 414.

[1] *Script. Benev.*, pl. 39. [2] ibid., pl. 55.

The point performs a threefold duty here: as colon after *prospicere*, as comma after *solem*, *puluerem*, &c., and as period after *uentum*. Wherever it is used, however, the voice goes down, there being no suspense, no sense as of something unfinished.

3. Monte Cassino 148 a. 1010, Vitae Sanctorum.[1]
A splendid volume written in part by the scribe Martinus.

fol. 120v. Nocturno scilicet tempore ./ angelice uoces in crypta audiebantur ./ et psalmodie ymni dicantium. tantusque splendor illam illustrabat ./ ut nullus ibi auderet nocturno tempore accedere ·,·

4. Vatic. lat. 1202 a. 1058–87, Vita S. Benedicti, &c.[2]
A liturgical MS. of rare beauty and perfection, written in Monte Cassino for Abbot Desiderius.

fol. lvi. Cumque eos uenerabilis pater contristatos cerneret ./ eorum pusillanimitatem studuit modesta increpatione corrigere. et rursum promissione subleuare / dicens. Quãre de panis inopia uester animus contristatur ./ Hodie quidem minus est ./ sed die crastina abundanter habebitis ·,·

After *subleuare* we have the simple oblique stroke, which indicates a smaller pause than does the stroke with the point below.

5. Vatic. lat. 3973 post a. 1178, Romualdus Salern., Chronicon, &c.[3]

Ideo dicitur uaticanum ./ quia uates id est sacerdotes / canebant ibi sua officia ./ ante templum apillonis . et idcirco / tota illa pars ecclesie sancti petri ./ uaticanum uocatur.

6. Cava 19 a. 1280, Evangeliarium.[4]

Et zacharias turbatus est uidens ./ et timor irruit super eum ·,· Ait autem ad illum angelus ·,· Ne timeas zacharia. quoniam exaudita est

[1] *Script. Benev.*, pl. 57.
[2] ibid., plates 70–1.
[3] ibid., pl. 90.
[4] ibid., pl. 98.

deprecatio tua. et uxor tua helisabeth pariet tibi filium ./ et uocabis nomen eius iohannem ·,·

The punctuation of this sentence differs from that of the preceding examples. We should have expected a mere point after *uidens*, *angelus*, and *filium*.

7. Cava 24 a. 1295, Vitae Patrum Cavensium.[1]

Quia item noua scribendi tempora contempni solent. fidem dictorum relatoribus / non scriptis lector ascribat ./ quia et si isto tempore scribimus ./ ea que ab antiquis monasterii senibus sunt nobis dicta narramus ·,·

It will be seen from the above examples that it is impossible to give the exact values of the mediaeval points in terms of modern punctuation. The reason for this is that the two systems are different in principle. Our modern system is chiefly concerned with marking logical pauses. The ancient system was also concerned with indicating inflexion of the voice, so that a person reading aloud could see where the voice was to be raised and where it was to be allowed to drop. Helps of this nature were, of course, especially important in the case of liturgical books.[2] And the introduction of systematic punctuation in France[3] as well as in Italy doubtless arose from the desire

[1] *Script. Benev.*, pl. 99.

[2] This is clearly seen from the following verses of Alcuin in which the question of punctuation is treated entirely from the point of view of its importance to the *lector in ecclesia*:

'Per cola distinguant proprios et commata sensus,
Et punctos ponant ordine quosque suo,
Ne vel falsa legat, taceat vel forte repente
Ante pios fratres lector in ecclesia.'

Cf. *Mon. Germ. Hist. Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, i. 320, carmen xciv, ed. Dümmler.

[3] The emperor Charlemagne and the English scholar Alcuin were instrumental in bringing this about. See Alcuin's letter to the emperor, written in 799, in which he complains of the neglect of punctuation and begs the emperor to intercede: 'Punctorum vero distinctiones vel subdistinctiones licet ornatum faciant pulcherrimum in sententiis, tamen usus illorum propter rusticitatem pene recessit a scriptoribus. Sed sicut totius sapientiae decus et salutaris eruditionis

to facilitate correct reading at divine service and in the refectory.[1]

THE TWO POINTS AND COMMA. The comma surmounted by two points (⁘) and the comma placed between two points (.,.)—the latter is only a variation of the former, and both were simultaneously used after the end of the 9th century—stand quite regularly in Beneventan MSS. for the final pause. Even in MSS. which use the point for the period the group of two points and comma is found at the end of larger sections. It is true that the period is usually indicated by means of the comma surmounted by two points, yet the mere point may be found serving the same purpose in a great number of MSS., even in those of the best period (saec. xi ex.). An excellent illustration of the latitude allowed to scribes in this matter is furnished by Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211, a liturgical MS. written at Monte Cassino between 1094 and 1105.[2] In this book the period is indicated in three ways. As a rule we have (⁘), but from fol. 37^{v} on we usually meet with (.,.), and from fol. 44 we have (.) for the period. This diversity may be due to three different scribes collaborating on the MS. The script is uniform and regular throughout the MS., so that we may suppose that each of the three methods of indicating the period was correct.

Even for one and the same sign a variety of forms existed side by side. For instance, the comma surmounted by two points had various positions with respect to them during the same epoch. But these variations must not be confused with

ornatus per vestrae nobilitatis industriam renovari incipit, ita et horum usus in manibus scribentium redintegrandus esse optime videtur' (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Epp.* iv. 285, ep. 172, ed. Dümmler).

[1] The great interest of this subject may be seen from Hildemar's letter, of the year 831, to Urso, Bishop of Benevento (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Epp.* v. 320 and Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 106, col. 395) and from his long lecture on reading and punctuation interpolated in Paul the Deacon's commentary on St. Benedict's Rule (see below, p. 256, n. 2).

[2] *Script. Benev.*, pl. 77.

the genuine changes due to gradual development and modification in the whole character of the script. These modifications—which correspond to those undergone by the letters—it is impossible to overlook. They are as trustworthy criteria for dating as the letters themselves. In MSS. of the 10th century the comma in the sign (·,·) is made by a somewhat freely drawn sinuous flourish more or less long. During the best period (saec. xi ex.) the comma is very even and ends in a hair-line drawn to the left. In MSS. of the 13th century the whole sign is curiously debased. The two points are joined so as to form a sort of zigzag line, and the comma, placed between or below them, often merges with them (⁊) (⁊).

THE POINT (·). The main function of the point seems to be to mark a pause which allows the voice to descend. We have seen that it is often used for the period. Where the period is otherwise marked the mere point will often be seen at the end of any portion of a sentence which in itself makes complete sense and thus permits the voice to fall. Thus we frequently find it after the verb and before *et*, that is, between the two parts of a compound sentence. It is employed as we employ the colon (cf. above, example 2, after *prospicere*). When a number of objects are named, the point is usually employed to separate the things enumerated (cf. example 2). The point cannot be said to have a definite position. At times it is on the line, more often, however, it is in the middle space. Its form is rather roundish in MSS. of the 10th century. In later MSS. it is usually diamond-shaped.

THE POINT AND HOOK (·/). The point surmounted by the oblique line (the line does not always have the hook at the bottom)[1] is chiefly used after parts of the sentence incomplete in themselves, which end with the voice somewhat raised, thus

[1] This is usually the case in MSS. written after the second half of the 11th century.

indicating the suspense in the sense and the unfinished character of the sentence. It is the sign used between the subordinate and main clauses of a complex sentence. We regularly find it after the participial construction, e. g. *his ita peractis ⁄ ecclesia*, &c. (Vatic. lat. 5007); *Fessis nimium Romanis ⁄ nec ualentibus moenia tueri ⁄ Totila a porta ingressus est* (Vatic. Pal. lat. 909).

It is used likewise after relative, conditional, and other subordinate clauses, e. g. *Quando enim ista omnia sunt ⁄ uinum accipiant* (Vienna 68); *Si fuerit ligatum corpus uinculis ⁄ resoluatur* (Monte Cassino 402); *Tantusque splendor illam illustrabat ⁄ ut nullus ibi*, &c. (Monte Cassino 148). It is the sign commonly placed after the verb of saying, introducing a quotation, e. g. *Vrbanus ad eadem respondens ait ⁄ una nocte*, &c. (Vatic. lat. 5845). The point and hook, like the preceding signs, is differently made in different periods of the script. In connexion with it mention should be made of the simple, oblique line (/) without the point underneath. After the 11th century it is often employed along with the point and hook. As a pause it is weaker than the latter, e. g. *Pater noster qui es in celis / sanctificetur nomen tuum* (Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211); *et ostendo uobis / in quo loco oratorium / in quo loco refectorium*, &c. (Vatic. lat. 1202).

Quotation Marks

As far as my observation goes, quotation marks are employed only in the case of citations from Scripture.[1] Small *s*-like

[1] Perhaps a more careful examination of Beneventan MSS. with regard to this point will show that some non-scriptural passages are also thus marked. But I believe that such cases will form the exception to the rule. In the 6th-century papyrus MS. of Hilary (Vienna 2160*), which comes from South Italy, we find the *diple* (>) used to mark Scripture citations (see R. Beer, *Mon. Pal. Vindobon.* i. 6 and pl. 1; *Script. Benev.*, pl. 1. The *diple* is mistaken for a *d* in *Pal. Soc.* ii, pl. 31, l. 26). Of this sign Isidore (*Etymol.* i. 21. 13, ed. Lindsay) says: 'Hanc scriptores nostri adponunt in libris ecclesiasticorum virorum ad separanda vel [ad] demonstranda testimonia sanctarum Scripturarum.' The signs

flourishes, or signs resembling arabic number 3 or the same number reversed, are placed, sometimes singly, more often in pairs, in the margin to the left of the line or lines cited.[1]

Exclamation Marks

There is no consistent and uniform method for marking an exclamation. In MSS. of the developed period we find an oblique hook (⸌), or the mere oblique line, over *o*, but this is probably nothing more than the ordinary acute accent used over other stressed syllables and especially over monosyllabic words. The dot which is found in the middle of the *o* is not confined to exclamatory *o*. In glosses we find *o* with the acute accent placed over words in the vocative case, e. g.

Incipe paṕue puér risu cognoscere matrem.

The sign which is commonly used to mark interrogative sentences is occasionally placed over proper names in the vocative case to call attention to the intonation proper to direct address. But this sign is not a conventional exclamation mark like our own, but an inflexion sign indicating a certain rise and fall of the voice.[2]

used in Beneventan MSS. are merely modified forms of the *diple*, and in restricting its use to quotations from Scripture the Beneventan scribe was doubtless following an ancient tradition, which reflected the reverence felt towards the Bible. But evidently the use of the quotation marks was early extended to non-scriptural passages. They are found opposite a citation from Persius, as I learn from Prof. W. M. Lindsay, in the eighth-century Visigothic MS. of Isidore's *Etymologiae* (Madrid Tolet. 15. 8). See *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti*, xiii (Leyden 1909) fol. 3ᵛ, and R. Beer's preface, p. xxii, col. 2.

[1] See *Script. Benev.*, plates 7, 46, 52, 60, and 64. Occasionally the quotation marks are placed to the right of the cited passage.

[2] See the discussion on the interrogation-sign which follows. Wattenbach (*Anleitung*⁴, p. 91) mentions two late 15th-century MSS. which use an exclamation mark resembling in form the interrogation-sign. The signs in question are not merely similar; they are in reality the same signs. The use of the same sign to mark both question and exclamation is not recent, as Wattenbach's examples seem to suggest. The custom was known in the 10th century and probably earlier.

THE BENEVENTAN INTERROGATION-SIGN

The most interesting feature of the punctuation in Beneventan MSS. is the interrogation-sign. To the palaeographer this feature is important because it is a distinguishing characteristic of the script, though its interest extends, as we shall see, beyond the limits of palaeography. A study of the Beneventan manner of punctuating interrogative sentences leads to the following conclusions:

(1) that the Beneventan manner is peculiar to the South Italian schools;

(2) that in different periods of the script the usage differed with regard to both forms and position of the interrogation-signs, and this difference constitutes an aid in dating;

(3) that the suprascript signs used in interrogative sentences are in reality recitation or reading signs indicating inflexion of the voice;

(4) that these signs have no fixed position in the sentence, but shift according to the inflexion;

(5) that the recitation sign has reference to the inflexions of the phrase or sentence and not merely to the intonation of the word over which it stands.

A history of the interrogation-signs used in Latin MSS. still remains to be written.[1] The treatment of the subject in palaeographical literature is not only scant but also mechanical. Our text-books do no more than mention when the sign came into use and give some specimens. To get an idea of the meaning and history of the signs the student must wander far

[1] In the winter of 1906–7 Traube intended to read a paper on this subject before the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, in which my account of the Beneventan usage was to be included. But his health unfortunately did not permit him to prepare the paper, and he left only some stray notes, which at my request were sent to me by Prof. Boll and Dr. Lehmann, for which kindness I wish to thank them here. Wherever I have used Traube's data, due acknowledgement is made.

from palaeography proper into the domain of mediaeval musical notation.[1] As the whole problem of the interrogation-signs is new and unfamiliar, it will perhaps not seem amiss if, before entering upon a detailed discussion of the Beneventan usage, a few remarks are premised on the nature of the interrogative sentence as such.[2]

An interrogative sentence differs from a declarative sentence in being incomplete. The answer completes it. The incompleteness in the sense is expressed by the rising inflexion of the voice. Any unusual emotion or surprise naturally expresses itself in a rising inflexion. It is by the difference in the tone of the voice that we differentiate a question from a statement. But not all questions are read alike. The inflexion differs with the kind of question. For, as is well known, there are two main kinds of questions, formally and psychologically distinct. One is always introduced by the interrogative pronoun or adverb—we shall speak of it as the 'nominal' question. The other lacks the interrogative pronoun and has for its

[1] See the article by P. Bohn, 'Das liturgische Recitativ und dessen Bezeichnung in den liturgischen Büchern des Mittelalters,' in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, xix (1887) 29–36, 45–52, 61–8, 78–80. It is the only attempt known to me in which the typical interrogation-signs found in Latin MSS. (not the Beneventan) are historically considered and interpreted. Knowledge of this interesting study I owe to the learned Benedictine Dom Anselm Manser. According to P. Bohn (l. c., p. 50) accent-neums and punctuation signs have the same origin and significance, and are in fact the same signs. The interrogation-signs encountered by him in Latin MSS. from the 9th to the 15th century he traces back to two neums, the *porrectus* signifying ♩♩♩ and the *pes quassus* signifying ♩♩. The explanation of the sign as a neum must have been acceptable to Traube, to judge from one of his notes: '✓ ist wie eine Note zu singen, ein ursprünglich musikalisches Zeichen.' The theory propounded by J. B. Thibaut (*Monuments de la notation ekphonétique et neumatique de l'Église latine*, St. Petersburg 1912), which derives western neums from punctuation, may or may not be correct—it seems improbable to me—but the theory rests on erroneous dates assigned to two St. Petersburg MSS. Q. v. I, no. 11 and Q. v. I, no. 2.

[2] On the psychology of interrogative sentences see the interesting paper by Th. Imme, *Die Fragesätze nach psychologischen Gesichtspunkten eingeteilt und erläutert*, published as a Gymnasium-Programm, Cleve 1879 and 1881.

answer either 'yes' or 'no', that is, the predicate of the question affirmed or not. This we shall call the 'predicate' question.[1] '*Who is there?*' is an example of the nominal question, '*Is that you?*' an example of the predicate question. The difference in the character of these two questions becomes manifest when we consider them from the point of view of the answer. To the 'nominal' question 'Who is there?' an infinite variety of answers is possible. To the 'predicate' question 'Is that you?' only one of two answers is possible, 'yes' or 'no'.[2] Emotionally the two types of question are different. And this difference is expressed in the manner of reading them. In the case of a 'nominal' question, the rising inflexion comes near the beginning of the sentence; whereas in the case of the predicate question, no matter where else in the sentence the rising inflexion comes, it always appears toward the end of the sentence.[3] If we bear this in mind we shall understand why it is that in many Beneventan MSS. the same form of interrogation-sign is placed now over some word at the beginning, now over some word at the end of the interrogative sentence, according as the sentence is nominal or predicate.

[1] I prefer this terminology, which I find in Gildersleeve-Lodge, *Lat. Grammar*[3] (1908) p. 290, to the more familiar 'word' and 'sentence' question. The ancient names are *percontatio* and *interrogatio* (see next note). Imme (op. cit. i. 15) speaks of 'Bestätigungs- und Bestimmungsfragen'.

[2] This distinction must have been taught by the ancient grammarians, for St. Augustine says (*De doctrina Christiana*, iii, cap. 3, § 6=Migne, *P. L.* 34, col. 67): 'Inter percontationem autem et interrogationem hoc veteres interesse dixerunt, quod ad percontationem multa responderi possunt, ad interrogationem vero aut Non aut Etiam,' and examples follow.

[3] Though different people inflect the same sentence differently and the difference is even more marked between different races, yet certain laws are observed in all human speech because they rest on common psychology. See the interesting chart showing curves of inflexion in D. Jones, *Phonetic Transcription of English* (Oxford 1907) pp. 43 sqq., where it will be seen that the voice makes an upward curve at the end of a predicate question, and a downward curve at the end of a nominal question. The highest point at the end of a predicate question is on the last accented word, not necessarily the last word. Thus, for example, in *uobiscum uita est et de morte solliciti estis* the inflexion sign occurs over *solliciti*. See below, p. 240.

The peculiarity of the Beneventan sign. If we were to take the interrogation-sign as the basis of a classification of Latin MSS., we should find, I believe, that they fall into two main groups, a non-Beneventan and a Beneventan. The MSS. of the first or non-Beneventan group agree in having the interrogation-sign invariably placed at the end of the question.[1] In MSS. of the second group, namely, the Beneventan, the sign of interrogation may or may not be used at the end—that depends upon the epoch. What distinguishes it from the first group is the use of a suprascript inflexion sign shaped like the arabic numeral 2, which is placed over the accented syllable[2] of the interrogative pronoun or adverb introducing a nominal question; or over some word or words which receive the raised inflexion in a predicate question.

So, for example, in non-Beneventan MSS. the questions:

qui sunt et unde uenerunt?
hoc sum terraque marique secuta?

are punctuated with the interrogation-sign at the end, as we do to-day. In Beneventan, on the other hand, the same questions would be punctuated thus:

quĩ sunt et ũnde uenerunt.
hõc sum terraque marique secũta.

with a suprascript sign over *qui*, *unde*, *hoc*, and *secuta*, the punctuation at the end differing according to the date of the MS. (see below, p. 244 sq.).

The Beneventan method is usually described as consisting in the use of two interrogation-signs, one at the beginning and

[1] It is, of course, possible that fresh evidence may disprove this statement, but it seems highly improbable. There is no evidence adduced for the statement made by Professors Rodolico and Rostagno which implies that Spanish MSS. have the sign at the beginning (see below, p. 251, n. 5).

[2] There is a decided tendency on the part of scribes to put the sign over the accented syllable. They do not always do so, but that they mean to do so is to be seen from a scribe's placing the sign over the first syllable of *numquid* and shifting it to the second syllable on discovering that the word was *numquidnam* (Vatic. lat. 5007).

another at the end.[1] The statement is inaccurate in several respects: (1) because it implies that the two signs, final and initial, were invariably used together, which is not the case before the 11th century; (2) because it implies that no more than these two signs were used, which is not always the case; (3) because it implies that the position of the signs was fixed, one being placed at the beginning, the other at the end of the sentence (as, for instance, in modern Spanish, with which unfortunately it has been compared).[2] That this is not the case may be seen from such examples as:

et a facie tua quŏ fugiam.
mulierem fortem quĭs inueniet.
harenam maris quĭs denumerauit.[3]

which have the interrogation-sign neither at the beginning nor at the end of the sentence, but over the word with which the interrogative inflexion begins, i.e. over the interrogative pronouns. The case is even clearer when we examine predicate questions like—

uobiscum uita est et de morte sollĭciti estis.[4]
gestas in cogitatione adulterium, et integra est ănima.[5]

where, again, the sign stands neither at the beginning nor at the end of the sentence, but over the first word of the sentence (the penultimate and ultimate in the examples) which requires the interrogative inflexion. If the statement in our text-books is inaccurate, it is also defective, in so far as it fails to call attention to what is after all the distinguishing feature of the Beneventan method, already mentioned, namely, the

[1] See Piscicelli Taeggi, *Pal. artistica*, &c., p. 10; Carini, *Sommario di pal. e dipl.*, p. 63; Paoli, *Programma scolastico*, &c., i. 14; Traube, *Textgeschichte d. Regula*, &c. (2nd ed.) p. 102; Bretholz, *Lat. Pal.*, p. 129 (2nd ed., p. 111). There is no mention of the Beneventan method in the older literature. Wattenbach's *Anleitung* (1st ed. 1869) is probably the first text-book to call attention to it. It is not mentioned in the recent manuals by Prou, Reusens, and Thompson cited above, p. 34, n. 2.

[2] See below, p. 253.

[3] The first two are taken from Rome Casanat. 641^2 (saec. x) foll. 86, 108; the third from Benevento IV 14 saec. x/xi.

[4] MS. Benevento IV 13 saec. x/xi. [5] MS. Rome Casanat. 641^2, fol. 134^v.

use of a suprascript sign which, unlike the sign in non-Beneventan MSS., is not confined to the end of the sentence, but may be placed over any word in the sentence (interrogative or not) which receives special emphasis and introduces the inflexion which differs from the normal.[1]

A careful examination of the punctuation in a large number of Latin MSS. representing the various schools of minuscule goes to show that the suprascript 2-shaped sign is a Beneventan feature *par excellence*. So much so that its presence in a non-Beneventan MS. may at once be regarded as an index of some connexion, direct or indirect, with Beneventan centres. Just as the use of nr̄ for *noster* or aūm for *autem* in a non-Visigothic MS. leads us to suspect Visigothic influence, so we may safely surmise Beneventan influence whenever we meet with the 2-shaped suprascript sign in a non-Beneventan MS. The Codex Beneventanus of the Gospels (London Add. MS. 5463), in 8th-century uncials, has the suprascript interrogation-sign added here and there. This makes us suspect Beneventan influence. On foll. 222, 229 we actually find several words added in pure Beneventan minuscule.[2] Similarly in the Gospel book of Henry II (Vatic. Ottob. lat. 74), written in German minuscule of the 11th century, the Beneventan interrogation-sign has been added *passim*. This puzzles us until we discover on fol. 176^{v} an addition of several lines in Beneventan minuscule of the 11th century. The book was doubtless a present to Monte Cassino. The addition of the Beneventan interrogation-sign shows that the book had been in actual use there. And a number of other examples, enumerated below (pp. 259 sqq.), go to prove that the 2-shaped suprascript sign is, in Traube's phrase, a Beneventan 'symptom'.

[1] I give a few examples (printing in italics the words which have the suprascript 2-shaped sign): *Domine, tu* mihi lauas pedes; *Quid* ad nos tu *Egea*; *Dic* sancte Danihel; *Dic* cui seruient?; *Vale*; *En* hec promissa *fides* est. These instances of direct address, command, or exclamation require a different inflexion from that of a normal declarative sentence, and the suprascript sign calls attention to the unusual intonation.

[2] See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 4.

Usage in Beneventan MSS. It may seem self-evident, but it is worth stating, that an investigation into matters of punctuation cannot be made on facsimiles. Only the original MSS. can disclose, and often only after careful scrutiny, what is the work of the scribe and what is by a later hand. And the distinction is here of primary importance.[1]

A study of the different forms found in Beneventan MSS. makes it clear that the interrogation-sign passed through several stages of development, which correspond, on the whole, to epochs of the script. The transition from phase to phase was gradual, and the forms of an earlier phase are not infrequently found alongside of forms proper to a later phase. Though calligraphy was subject to rules it allowed the scribe considerable latitude, which renders mathematical precision out of the question in reckoning with him. So in the matter of the interrogation-sign we find scribes omitting the suprascript sign long after its use had been established,[2] or placing it where it did not belong, or again, employing a form which had grown obsolete. Notwithstanding, however, occasional irregularities, the best scribes were sufficiently regular in their practice to allow us to distinguish certain definite stages.

The oldest Beneventan MSS. make no distinction between a declarative and an interrogative sentence. They have no special interrogation-sign. Where found it is added, the form of the sign often betraying the age of the corrector. Among the twenty-three MSS. which may be considered the oldest, two exceptions have come to my notice. In Paris lat. 7530 (Grammatica) saec. viii ex., from Monte Cassino, there occurs a sign composed of three points arranged in a triangle —a form of interrogation-sign which we shall meet in several 10th- and 11th-century MSS. Apparently the use of this sign

[1] Piscicelli Taeggi (op. cit., p. 10) refers the student to the examples in his plate XXXVIII taken from Monte Cassino 187 of the 9th century. But the signs are 11th-century additions.

[2] e.g. in Monte Cassino 111 saec. xi, M. C. 443 saec. xi, M. C. 298[2] saec. xi, Rome Sessor. 81 (2030) saec. xii/xiii, Vatic. lat. 591 saec. xii/xiii.

is limited to two examples used on one page.[1] But on fol. 231 of the same MS. there are three instances of the 2-shaped suprascript sign.[2] Although many other interrogative sentences occur in the MS., they are, as far as my observation goes, invariably punctuated like declarative sentences.

The second exception is furnished by the MS. Monte Cassino 299 (Grammatica) saec. ix. One of the scribes makes frequent use of the three points arranged in a triangle.[3] And an early corrector has added *passim* a sign like arabic number 2, placing it, not over the interrogative pronoun, but at the end of the question, now over the final punctuation, now after it, now over the final word. These instances doubtless represent the groping on the part of Beneventan scribes after a method of their own. But it is a curious fact, which brings out the aloofness and backwardness of Beneventan centres, that nearly all the South Italian MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries of which we have knowledge lack the interrogation-sign, although it had been in use in the Frankish schools at least since the year 781, and in the monastery of Corbie since the time of Abbot Maurdramnus (772–80).[4]

The regular use of the suprascript interrogation-sign in Beneventan MSS. may be said to begin approximately toward the end of the 9th century. It is found in a number of MSS. which were written about the year 900.[5] The scribe of Monte Cassino 3 (a. 874–92) does not use it, but a corrector, who seems contemporary, does so. The first dated example known to me is furnished by Monte Cassino 218 of the year 909. Here

[1] They occur on fol. 228v: Quid est rhetorica ·.· bene dicendi scientia. quid est orator ·.· uir bonus et dicendi peritus. Other questions on the same page lack the interrogation-sign.

[2] Coniunctum rationale *quot* modis fit . . . coniunctum legale *quemadmodum* fit . . . comparatiuum legale *quemadmodum* fit. The words in italics have the 2-shaped sign.

[3] See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 20a.

[4] As may be seen from Charlemagne's lectionary (Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1203) and the Maurdramnus Bible preserved in Amiens (MSS. 6, 7, 9, 11, 12).

[5] Monte Cassino 384, Vatic. Regin. lat. 1267, and others.

the custom seems already firmly established. Henceforth the suprascript sign remains a characteristic feature of Beneventan punctuation, falling into disuse only with the script's decay. In fact the habit of employing the suprascript sign over words like *cur*, *qualis*, &c., becomes so much second nature with some scribes that they are found using it where it is obviously out of place. Scribes did not hesitate to use it over abbreviated *quo* (q̊), although this involved placing the sign over suprascript *o*.

Three phases may be observed in the development of the Beneventan interrogation-sign.

1. The first phase nearly coincides with the Capuan epoch of the script (saec. ix ex.–x ex.). Its distinguishing feature is the absence of any special sign after the question, the punctuation at the end being the same as that of a declarative sentence, e. g.

> cu̇r odio deorum laborat.[1]
> meli̇oris meriti sunt ȧues quarum uita est deo uici̇nior ·,·[2]

2. The second phase is marked by the addition of an interrogation-sign at the end of the question. The sign consists either of three points placed in a triangle (·.·),[3] or of two points surmounted by a hook inclined to the right or (less often) by a wavy line shaped like a rounded *w* or the Greek letter *omega*.

> qui̇d ergo de te digne dicam ·./ qui̇d referam ·.·[4]
> qui̇s potest saluus fieri ⁘[5]

These forms of the final interrogation-sign are usually found from about the end of the 10th to the first third of the 11th

[1] Vatic. lat. 3317 saec. x. [2] Rome Casanat. 641[2] saec. x in.

[3] The three points do not always have the same position.

[4] Monte Cassino 305 saec. xi in.; see *Script. Benev.*, pl. 63, col. 2. Other examples of the three points used at the end of a question occur in Monte Cassino 73, 102, 148, and 303, all saec. xi in.

[5] Monte Cassino 40 saec. xi in. Other instances are found in Monte Cassino 25, 37, and 169, part 2, all of the beginning of the 11th century. The sign has the same form as the neum *pes quassus* or *quilisma*.

century.[1] But it should be noted that during the same time the final sign is often omitted as in the first phase. The three points placed triangularly occur, as has been seen, here and there, never regularly, in some earlier examples.[2]

3. The next phase is the most familiar of the three. It may be said to begin in the first quarter of the 11th century and lasts well into the 13th. It is best illustrated in MSS. of the Desiderian epoch (1058–87).[3] The sign after the question assumes a well-defined and fixed form, resembling the interrogation-sign found in most Latin MSS.,[4] which rests obliquely over two points, thus:[5]

quãre ista dicitis ⁘
uĩs audire cui ⁘

It should be noted that the suprascript sign found in MSS.

[1] The two points and hook occur in the following MSS. written about the year 1000: Monte Cassino 38, 42, 48, 57, 73, 102, 103, 104, 148, 303, 349, 553, 583, and 759.

[2] Besides the cases mentioned a few examples also occur in the 10th-century MSS. Monte Cassino 175, Vatic. lat. 5845, and Monte Cassino 402. Ordinarily no interrogation-sign is used in these MSS. after the question. To the earlier use of ⁘ (in Paris lat. 7530 and Monte Cassino 299) reference was made above. I learned from Traube's notes that the late 8th-century corrector of the codex Rehdigeranus (Breslau R 169) of the Gospels uses the three dots at the end of questions. This work of the corrector is carefully indicated in Haase's edition (it is omitted in the new edition by H. Vogels). A collation of all the instances shows that it is not an interrogation-sign pure and simple, but a sign indicating a given inflexion, as may be seen from its use in these cases: Iesus autem iterum clamans uoce magna emisit spiritum ⁘ (Matt. xxvii. 50); scio qui sis, sanctus dei ⁘ (Mark i. 24); et tunc ieiunabunt in illa die ⁘ (Mark ii. 20). Cf. *Jour. Theol. Stud.* xiv (1913) 570. The three dots at the end of a question occur in another North Italian MS., Vercelli 183 saec. viii. The corrector who added the punctuation in the uncial portion of this MS. (foll. 107–111, Gregor. Homil.) uses (;) to mark the end of an ordinary sentence, and (⁘) to mark a question, e. g. Quid est quod nascituro domino mundus describitur ⁘ (fol. 108); Quid est quod . . . fugiunt ⁘ (fol. 111).

[3] See *Script. Benev.*, plates 68 and 70[a], col. 2.

[4] The sign seems to be identical in form with the neum called *porrectus* or *flexa resupina*.

[5] The examples are taken from the Desiderian MSS. Vatic. lat. 1202 and Monte Cassino 99. The sign does not always rest over two points. Some

showing this form of final interrogation sign is shaped more like an inverted circumflex accent (ˇ) than like arabic number 2. Yet the 2-shaped sign is found in many MSS. posterior to the 11th century.

The development of these three phases appears not only from an examination of dated MSS., but also from a study of corrections. I have noted many cases where a 10th-century hand inserted in a 9th-century MS. the missing suprascript sign; or where an 11th-century hand modified the 10th-century punctuation by adding the final sign; or where the final sign of the second phase, the three dots, was modified by transforming the upper dot into the inclined sign shaped like the neum *porrectus*, thus showing that the change was made by a reader or corrector not much earlier than the middle of the 11th century.

In MSS. of the 13th century the suprascript sign, which, as has been seen, was an essential part of the system of punctuation during the three preceding centuries, is often omitted. It is symptomatic of the general breaking down of old Beneventan traditions. Though we find the suprascript sign in the MS. Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 342 (a missal from Ragusa),[1] it is lacking in Cava 18 of about the year 1227, Rome Corsinian. 777 written between 1226 and 1252, Cava 19 of the year 1280, and Cava 24 written in 1295.[2] These MSS. have the interrogation-sign only after the question, as do most Latin MSS.

MSS. have only one point, others have the group ·,· beneath the interrogation-sign. In a question composed of several clauses the best scribes show a distinct tendency to place the sign over two points at the conclusion of the sentence, and over one point at intermediary pauses, e.g. Et si casu, ubi prouidentia ⁘ si iudicio, ubi iustitia dei ⁘ (Monte Cassino 284); quis nouit sensum domini ⁘ aut quis consiliarius eius fuit ⁘ (Vatic. lat. 1202).

[1] The suprascript sign as well as the final interrogation-sign is distinguished in this MS. (also in Vatic. lat. 1197 saec. xi ex.) by a daub of red, manifestly with the object of catching the reader's eye to warn him of the change of inflexion. While this practice is exceptional in Beneventan MSS., it is apparently quite the rule in Greek liturgical MSS. to mark all the inflexion signs in red. See the works by Praetorius cited below, p. 255, n. 2.

[2] Facsimiles in *Script. Benev.*, plates 92–4, 98–9.

If the above observations are correct it follows that the form of the interrogation-sign may be an aid in determining the age of undated Beneventan MSS. The mere presence of certain forms furnishes a *terminus a quo.* No conclusion, however, can be drawn from the absence of the suprascript interrogation-sign, since it is omitted in a number of MSS. even after its use is well established.

In order to bring out as clearly as possible the essential character of the Beneventan practice, I give below a number of examples chosen from MSS. of varied contents. Although the Beneventan system of using the 2-shaped inflexion sign doubtless had its origin in liturgical books and other religious books which were read aloud at divine service or in the refectory, the advantage of such a sign was so manifest that its use was soon extended to any book regardless of its character.[1] That the 2-shaped sign is in reality an inflexion sign becomes evident as soon as we try to account for its different position in nominal and predicate questions. Hundreds of other illustrations might have been chosen. But the examples of nominal and predicate questions which follow will suffice to show that we are not dealing with a sporadic phenomenon. The punctuation after the question, unless it is otherwise stated, is the mere point, or point and hook, or else the two points and comma, in other words, the ordinary punctuation of a declarative sentence. For all these I use the mere point. An asterisk is prefixed to MSS. reproduced in *Scriptura Beneventana.*

* Monte Cassino 3 (Patristica) a. 874–92. Corrector saec. ix ex.

(*a*) quid̃ sum ego, nisi anima et caro. (p. 90)

(*b*) nũmquid aliud lumen est pater, et aliud fĩlius. (p. 87)

Monte Cassino 384 (Patristica) saec. ix/x.

(*a*) quid̃ de te noui referam. (p. 96)

(*b*) uĩs orationem tũam uolare ad dẽum. (p. 39)

[1] That the earliest examples of the 2-shaped sign happen to be found in non-liturgical books need not surprise us, since liturgical books were apt to become obsolete, and once out of use had little chance of surviving.

nūmquid uisibiliter eis oportet, aūt quasi corporeis locis accedit ad ēos.

* Rome Casanat. 641 (part ii) (Patristica) saec. x in.[1]

(*a*) quō ibo ab spiritu tuo et a facie tua quō fugiam. (fol. 86)
quīd est maius, orāre, ān corpus Christi accipere. (fol. 174)

(*b*) sīcine putamus orasse Ionam, sīc tres pueros, sīc Danielem inter leones, sīc certe latronem in crūce. (fol. 179^{v})
nūmquid uia mea non est ēqua, et non magis uię uestrę prāuę sunt. (fol. 96)

* Bamberg P III 20 (Auxilius, Eugenius Vulg.) saec. x in.

(*a*) quāre ergo subiit. (fol. 105)

(*b*) uīs autem non timere potestātem, bonum fac. (fol. 94^{v})
in accipiendo spiritum sanctum nōn poterat dare id quod accēperat. (fol. 94^{v})

* Vienna 27 (Servius) saec. x in.

(*a*) quīd consulit numen. (fol. 116^{v})

(*b*) hōc sum terraque marique secūta.[2] (fol. 184)

* Monte Cassino 175 (Paul. Diac.) a. 915–34.

(*a*) quāre cum timore et honore et uoce summissa loquitur.[3] (p. 255)

(*b*) et nūnc uenisti ad monasterium, et te decipere et ālium. (p. 432)

Monte Cassino 295 (Patristica) saec. x/xi (foll. 1–64).

(*a*) quīd tibi inquam faciam. (p. 5)

(*b*) et tū putas aliquid deinceps esse dictūrum. (p. 23)
hoc matrona nobilis fāciet et experietur alterum uīrum etc. (p. 33)

Benevento VI 33 (Missale) saec. x/xi.

(*a*) quīd est hoc quod dicit nobis etc.

(*b*) uīs sanus fīeri.
nūmquid colligunt de spinis ūuas aut de tribulis fīcus. (fol. 132^{v})

[1] This MS. has a very large number of interrogative sentences. The inflexion is marked with great care. On the use of the assertion-sign in this MS. see below, p. 271.

[2] The same sentence, with precisely the same position of the interrogation-sign, is found on fol. 139 of Vienna 58 saec. x.

[3] The final interrogation-sign consisting of three points seems a later addition.

Monte Cassino 82 (Patristica) saec. x/xi.

(*a*) quŭr dei latrones dicantur aperietur.

(*b*) nŭmquid deo comparari potest hŏmo.

Benevento IV 15 (Greg. in Iob) saec. x/xi.

(*a*) dixit usque quŏ loqueris tălia. (fol. 222)

(*b*) nŭmquid frustra Iob timet dĕum. (fol. 28^{v})

Benevento IV 14 (Liber Regum, Vitae SS.) saec. x/xi.

(*a*) quĭd uis ut faciam tibi. (fol. 78^{v})

(*b*) nŭmquid habes negotium et uĭs ut loquar regi siue principi milĭtiae. (fol. 78^{v})

Benevento IV 13 (Homil. sup. Evang.) saec. x/xi.

(*a*) quĭd mihi et tibi est mulier.

(*b*) uĭs non esse otiŏsus. (fol. 118)
qui panem cotidianum petit paŭper est, aŭt diues. (fol. 73)

Naples VIII B 7 (Vitae SS.) saec. xi.

(*a*) quĭd ad nos tu Egĕa.[1] (fol. 5^{v})

(*b*) hactenus enim lugubrem tuum uultum, nŭnc te hilarem cĕrno. (fol. 14)
nŭmquid soluere me uenĭsti aŭt forte paenitentia ductus credere desĭderas. (fol. 5^{v})

Vienna 1188 (part iii) (Vet. Test.) saec. xi in. (foll. 223–9).

(*a*) quĭs hoc fecit.

(*b*) nŭmquid possum deserere dulcedinem mĕam.

Naples VI B 2 (Homil.) saec. xi in.

(*a*) quăre hoc.

(*b*) nŭmquid et nos caeci sŭmus.

The above examples all lacked an interrogation-sign after the question. But after the beginning of the 11th century, as

[1] The 2-shaped sign over *Egea* is meant to call attention to the intonation demanded by the vocative of direct address. See above, pp. 235 and 241, n. 1.

has been said, the custom comes in of using an interrogation-sign after the question, besides the suprascript sign over *cur*, *quid*, &c. Now it is an instructive fact that the appearance of an interrogation-sign after the question marks the disappearance in predicate questions of the suprascript sign, which, as we have seen, was used at the end of such questions, either over the final word or some word near it. So that the first two examples given above are thus punctuated in MSS. which have the final interrogation-sign:

quid sum ego, nisi anima et caro?[1]
numquid aliud lumen est pater, et aliud filius?[1]

The question which naturally arises is this: Is there any relation between the two phenomena? Have the two signs the same significance? Is the disappearance of the final suprascript sign[2] explained by the arrival of the sign used after the question? And if these phenomena are causally related, does not the fact throw some light on the inflexional value of these signs? The final sign used in Beneventan MSS. is virtually the same as that found in the majority of Latin MSS., and this sign is, according to P. Bohn, merely a form of the neum *porrectus* (or *flexa resupina*).[3] Now one of the forms of the *porrectus* is precisely like the suprascript sign found in Beneventan MSS.[4] This would naturally suggest that the suprascript sign and the final sign used after a question are forms of the same sign. The one other form of interrogation-sign (besides the *porrectus*-shaped one) which is common in

[1] I use our modern sign for the various forms of the interrogation-sign after the question found in the MSS.

[2] i.e. the sign used over the last word, or some word near the end of the predicate question.

[3] See above, p. 237, n. 1.

[4] Cf. *Paléographie musicale*, i (1889) 121, 128; P. Wagner, *Neumenkunde* (Freiburg, Switzerland, 1905) p. 13. See also J. B. Thibaut, *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'Église latine* (Paris 1907) pp. 90, 95 and the tables in H. M. Bannister's *Paleografia Musicale Vaticana*.

Latin MSS.[1] Bohn identifies with the neum *pes quassus* (or *quilisma*). This form, too, is found in some Beneventan MSS. There is manifestly a common bond which unites the various interrogation-signs found in our MSS.

Even the use of the three points in a triangle for the final sign of interrogation is not confined to Beneventan MSS., since it is used in North Italy at the end of the 8th century.[2] Nor is there anything remarkable in the use of three points after a question, since the modulation indicated by them (up-down-up) is the same as that indicated by the form resembling the *porrectus*. Our oldest MSS. with neums are not older than the end of the 9th century.[3] Our oldest interrogation-signs are a whole century older.[4] Did the neums come from these signs, or did these signs come from neums, or—which seems more likely—did they both come from a common source, the Greek prosodic accents? These are questions which further researches will have to clear up.

The origin of the Beneventan method. In two recent publications the statement is made, unsupported by evidence or authority, that the Beneventan method of marking an interrogation is borrowed from the Spanish.[5] One of these publi-

[1] The earliest examples known to me occur in Paris Nouv. Acq. lat. 1203 of the year 781. The Beneventan MSS. with such a sign are mentioned above, p. 244, n. 5.

[2] See above, p. 245, n. 2.

[3] Bannister, op. cit., p. xviii.

[4] See above, p. 243, n. 4.

[5] Prof. N. Rodolico (*Archiv. Stor. Italiano*, xxvii (1901) 321) discussing the origin of the Beneventan script says as follows: '... il segno dell' interrogativo, così proprio dei codici visigotici, il quale è rimasto fino ad ora in uso nella Spagna, si ripete nei codici longobardo-cassinesi, anche in essi il segno precede e non segue la proposizione interrogativa.' (See above, p. 109 sq.) In describing the punctuation used in Flor. Laurent. 68. 2, the celebrated MS. of Tacitus' *Histories* and *Annals*, Prof. Rostagno says: 'Eiusmodi autem morem, ut interrogatio significaretur per punctum interrogativum ineunti (et exeunti) sententiae praepositum vel superpositum, e Visigothica scriptura pro-

cations is particularly important for us since it is a study of Beneventan writing, and in it the interrogation-sign is used as an argument proving the dependence of the Beneventan upon the Visigothic script. Before proposing a different view we must examine what foundation there is for deriving the Beneventan method from the Spanish.

Rodolico holds that the Beneventan method is peculiar to Visigothic MSS. ('così proprio dei codici visigotici'), and that the modern Spanish method is a continuation ('è rimasto fino ad ora') of an ancient Spanish practice. Do the MSS. bear this out? From an examination of forty-five MSS., covering the whole range of Visigothic writing, and of twice that number of facsimiles,[1] it appears that the Beneventan 2-shaped suprascript sign, far from being a peculiarity of Visigothic MSS., is, as a matter of fact, never found in them unless added by a Beneventan hand.[2] A peculiar manner of punctuating interrogative sentences is, to be sure, found in a number of Visigothic MSS. I refer to the Visigothic practice of carefully distinguishing nominal and predicate questions (see above, p. 238), the sign ∧ being used over the last word of a nominal question, and the sign ⌄/ after a predicate question.[3] The two kinds of questions, as has been said, require different inflexions, and wherever punctuation is a faithful guide to inflexion there the nominal and predicate questions are differently punctuated. We have found this to be the case in a large number of Beneventan MSS. But the manner of calling attention to the different inflexion is quite different in Visigothic and Beneventan MSS., as may be seen from a few

fectum, solemnem habuisse Casinenses librarios res est nota et pervulgata.' *Codd. Gr. et Lat. photogr. depicti* (Leyden 1902) vii, pars 2, p. x. Traube also refers to these two views and rejects them summarily. He adduces the statement by Arevalo which I cite below.

[1] The MSS. are enumerated in *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 56 sqq.

[2] See above, p. 110, n. 1.

[3] This practice has, I believe, so far escaped notice. I hope to give details in a separate article.

examples taken at random from Beneventan and Visigothic MSS.

Visigothic	*Beneventan*
(*a*) quaſe.· quid hoc feciſti.· unde estîs.,	(*a*) quare ·,· quid hoc fecisti ·,· unde estis ·,·
(*b*) sic respondes pontifici? numquid reppulit dominus populum suum.	(*b*) sic respondes pontifici ·,· numquid reppulit dominus populum suum ·,·

If there is no foundation for the assertion that the Beneventan method was borrowed from the Visigothic, it follows that there is none for the statement that the modern Spanish custom of using the double sign is an inheritance from Visigothic punctuation. There is no point of resemblance between the Visigothic method just illustrated and the modern Spanish which punctuates questions thus:

¿ Cuándo se hizo la traslación ?

with an inverted interrogation-sign before the question and an upright sign after it. Far from being descended in a direct line from the MSS., this method is not even found in the early printed books.[1] It is doubtful if it came into use at all before the middle of the 18th century.[2] And we have the explicit

[1] I have examined a number of Spanish incunabula in Roman libraries. (Prof. Boll did the same for Traube.) When used at all, the interrogation-sign always comes after the question. Even to this day a Latin interrogative sentence has the interrogation-sign only after the question.

[2] From an examination of about fifty books printed in Spain and South America during the 18th century I am convinced that the custom cannot be much older than the year 1750. It may even be a few years more recent. In the early volumes of Florez' *España Sagrada* (Madrid 1747–) the inverted sign does not occur. I find it first in vol. xiii, published in 1756. The letter of 'approbacion' dated 1755, which precedes the text, lacks the inverted sign. In the well-known treatise by Terreros, *Paleografía Española*, though published in Madrid in 1758, only the sign at the end is used. That the new custom found ready acceptance in the Spanish world may be seen from a book (Juan Lope de Rodo's *Idea sucinta del Probabilismo*) published in 1772 in Lima, Peru.

testimony of the Spanish scholar Arevalo, who, writing at the end of the 18th century, speaks of the double sign as of a custom new in his day.[1]

The singular view which connects the Beneventan and the Spanish practice doubtless originated in some misunderstanding. Wattenbach, in the early editions of his *Anleitung*, compared the Beneventan method with the modern Spanish. Presumably because it was inexact, the comparison is omitted in the later editions.[2] Piscicelli Taeggi, in his preface (p. 10) to the *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino*, our chief source of information concerning Beneventan writing, discusses the interrogation-sign and reproduces the suprascript sign by means of our modern sign, placed before the question thus:

? Quis consolabitur te? ? Cui servient? ? Unde tibi hoc?

This may explain how Rodolico and Rostagno come to speak of the sign as preceding[3] the question in Beneventan MSS., and this mistaken idea may have been the starting-point of their theory.

If the Beneventan practice of using a suprascript sign is independent of the Visigothic, it is also independent of other systems used in Latin MSS., since it differs from them quite as radically. For the outstanding feature of the Beneventan

[1] Arevalo describing the punctuation of the Beneventan MS. of Dracontius (Vatic. Regin. lat. 1267; see *Script. Benev.*, pl. 29) remarks: 'Interpungendi ratio valde singularis est in hoc Draconti codice . . . Illud vero magis observandum interrogationis notam quamdam verbo ubi incipit interrogatio semper affigi. Hispani nunc hunc morem invehere conantur, ut interrogationis consuetam notam relinquant quidem post ultimum interrogationis verbum, sed eandem notam inversam verbo unde incipit interrogatio praefigant, quo legentium commodo consulant' (*Proleg. in carmina Dracontii* (Rome 1791) p. 59=Migne, *P. L.* 60, col. 640).

[2] The description of the Beneventan usage given in the first and second editions contained in parenthesis the words 'wie jetzt im Spanischen', which words are omitted in the third and fourth editions. Cf. *Anleitung z. lat. Pal.*, 1st ed (1869) p. 38, 2nd ed. (1872) p. 38, 3rd ed. (1878) p. 80, 4th ed. (1886) p. 91.

[3] 'il segno precede' (Rodolico); 'punctum interrogativum . . . praepositum' (Rostagno).

system is that the sign which is used in interrogative sentences is nothing else than a reading sign to indicate a certain inflexion of the voice; as is proved by the fact that it is also used in sentences which are not interrogative.[1]

But if the use of suprascript signs to indicate inflexion of the voice is practically unknown in Latin MSS., it is a thoroughly established and highly systematized practice in Greek liturgical MSS.—as well as in Oriental MSS.[2] And these reading signs, it is important to note, are used independently of other punctuation. It need hardly be said that the Greek system does not depend upon the Beneventan. Considering that the one reading sign common in Beneventan MSS. is also found in similar form among the Greek inflexional signs, even occurring here and there over the interrogative pronoun; and considering, furthermore, that that sign is used in Beneventan MSS., as in the Greek, regardless of the punctuation at the end of the sentence, it seems at least possible that the Beneventan borrowed it from the Greek. For Greek was a very conspicuous element in the Beneventan zone. Greek monasteries on the one hand, Byzantine rule on the other, had made Greek familiar throughout Southern Italy. In fact Greek monks found their way into the very heart of the Beneventan zone.[3] With Greek and Latin monks at such close quarters it may be supposed that each learned something from the other. We know that the Greek monks borrowed from

[1] See above, p. 241, n. 1.

[2] See O. Fleischer, *Neumen-Studien*, part i (Leipsic 1895) 'Über Ursprung und Entzifferung der Neumen'; F. Praetorius, *Über die Herkunft der hebräischen Accente* (Berlin 1901); J. B. Thibaut, *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'Église latine* (Paris 1907). Of the very interesting study by Praetorius I learned from Traube's notes. Although it has been subjected to adverse criticism, its thesis is heartily endorsed by Gesenius, *Hebräische Grammatik* (28th ed., Leipsic 1909) p. 60, § 15. For Praetorius' reply to his critic see his pamphlet entitled *Die Übernahme der frühmittelgriechischen Neumen durch die Juden* (Berlin 1902).

[3] In the 10th century the monks of St. Nilus had monasteries in Capua and in Vallelucio near Monte Cassino.

the Latins some ideas for initial decoration.[1] Is it too bold to conjecture that it was from the Greek monk that the Beneventan learned the device of using reading signs?[2] Or is it simply a mere coincidence that a reading sign which we find in Greek liturgical MSS. should appear, in virtually the same form[3] and with analogous if not identical value, in Latin MSS. written in centres which are known to have been in close contact with Greek culture?

The solution of these intricate problems, however, must be left to the expert in such matters. It is of interest to us here to call attention to what seems an analogy between Greek and Beneventan methods of indicating the inflexion of certain kinds of sentences.

[1] See above, p. 47, n. 2.

[2] The art of reading aloud, we know, received much attention in antiquity (Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, i (1909) 6, Nachträge, p. 1). In the Middle Ages the ancient traditions were carried on by the Church (see the quotation from St. Augustine cited above, p. 238, n. 2). As such lessons were mostly taught orally, we know almost nothing of the actual practice. We get a sense of the importance of the subject from Hildemar. In the beginning of the 9th century Hildemar dictated to his monks in some monastery in north Italy Paul the Deacon's commentary on St. Benedict's Rule. In connexion with the 38th chapter, which opens with the words 'Mensis fratrum lectio deesse non debet', Hildemar reviews the doctrines taught by modern teachers and those taught by ancient grammarians and the Fathers, and illustrates his lectures with numerous citations (these have been omitted in the only edition of Hildemar which we have, R. Mittermüller, *Expos. Regulae ab Hildemaro tradita* (Ratisbon 1880) p. 443, n. 2). MSS. of Hildemar repeat at this point a letter of his on the same subject, written in 831 to Urso, Bishop of Benevento (Traube, *Textgesch. d. Reg. S. Benedicti* (2nd ed.) p. 41). The passage which interests us runs as follows: 'In interrogationibus autem atque percontationibus vox legentis necesse est acuatur, sed paulo vehementius quam in acuto accentu. Hec nota est interrogandi ? hec percontandi ⸗ hec negandi η' (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Epp.* v. 320). The letter is given by Mabillon, *Annales O. S. B.* ii. 743; De Vita (*Antiquit. Beneventanae*, ii. 445) and Thurot (*Notices et Extraits*, &c., xxii, part 2, p. 415, n. 1) refer to it. The citation is instructive because it shows that different signs existed for predicate and nominal questions (*interrogationes* and *percontationes*). According to Traube's notes the MS. tradition of the signs is faulty. As a matter of fact the signs used in the letter are not the same as those used in the commentary (ed. Mittermüller, pp. 430 sqq.).

[3] See the comparative table given by Thibaut, op. cit., p. 71.

From the analysis of the Greek method made by Praetorius it appears that the Greek commonly used the ὀξεῖα (/) to denote the inflexion of nominal questions. The same sign was used in exclamation, command, and direct address. In all these cases the Beneventan scribe, if he indicated the inflexion at all, used the 2-shaped sign. There is no similarity in form between the ὀξεῖα and the Beneventan inflexion sign. There is, however, an unmistakable family likeness between the Beneventan sign and the Greek sign συρματική (~), which, it appears, must have had an inflexional value not unlike the ὀξεῖα, since it is occasionally used in sentences which normally take the ὀξεῖα, as the following examples go to show. I give the Greek examples on one side and the same or similar Latin examples on the other.[1]

τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι +	Ioh. 2. 4	quid mihi et tibi est, mulier ·,·
τίς δύναται αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν +	Ioh. 6. 60	quis potest eum audire ·,·
τί γὰρ ἐποίησεν κακόν +	Mk. 15. 14	quid enim mali fecit ·,·
ἔρχεσθε καὶ ἴδετε +	Ioh. 1. 39	dic mihi Stratonice.
ἔγειρε καὶ περιπάτει +	Lk. 5. 23	dic sancte Danihel.
σταύρωσον αὐτόν +	Mk. 15. 14	dic cui seruient?
ὦ γενεὰ ἄπιστος +	Mk. 9. 19	Domine, tu mihi lauas pedes ·,·
ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ δαυείδ +	Mt. 21. 9	Vale.
πλὴν οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις[2]	Lk. 6. 24	en hec promissa fides est.

[1] The Greek examples are taken from Praetorius (*Über d. Herkunft d. hebr. Accente*), and from two MSS. which I examined (London Harley gr. 5598 and Oxford Bodl. Misc. gr. 313=Auct. inf. ii. 2, both saec. x; facsimiles in *Pal. Soc.* i. 26–7 and ii. 7). The examples from the Gospel of John are given by Praetorius on pp. 41, 38–9, 38; those from Mark 15. 14, Luke 5. 23, and 6. 24 are taken from the Harley MS.; the rest from the Bodleian MS. The first three Latin examples require no references, as they represent Beneventan usage up to the 11th century. The 4th example is from Naples VIII B 3; the 5th and 6th from a Monte Cassino MS. (p. 271) the press-mark of which I have unfortunately lost; the 7th occurs in London Add. MS. 5463 (corrector saec. x); the 8th in Vatic. Barb. lat. 583 (XII 26) (fol. 13^{v}); the last in Vienna 58 (fol. 103^{v}).

[2] That the two Greek signs (/ and ~) occasionally interchanged may be seen from one or two examples. The Bodleian MS. (fol. 146) has the ὀξεῖα over

Since predicate questions are read differently from nominal questions, the Greek, with its nicely developed system of inflexional signs, has different signs to indicate the intonation of predicate questions.[1] The Beneventan too, in some MSS., carefully calls attention to the different inflexion,[2] but the Latin monks, it seems, were unwilling to borrow many signs, so the 2-shaped sign does double duty in Beneventan. Whether we are correct in connecting the Beneventan sign with the Greek is ultimately immaterial. More important is the conclusion which is amply justified by the facts at our command, namely, that the 2-shaped sign is a reading sign.

Non-Beneventan MSS. with the Suprascript Interrogation-Sign

There is no reason whatever why the practice of using a suprascript interrogation-sign should not have extended beyond Beneventan centres. As a matter of fact we find the suprascript sign in a number of non-Beneventan MSS. These non-Beneventan MSS., however, come chiefly from centres which lie close to the Beneventan zone, a circumstance which at once suggests that relation with Beneventan centres

τίς in τίς δύναται αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν; this very sentence has the συρματική in the example given above. The Harley MS. has ~ over ἔγειρε in Lk. 5. 23. In Lk. 5. 24 it has / over πορεύου. In Mt. 21. 9 the Bodleian MS. has the συρματική over the first ὡσαννά (fol. 14), but the ὀξεῖα over the second. Many other examples might be cited.

[1] See Praetorius, op. cit., pp. 28–31. The two MSS. examined by me bear out Praetorius' observation. The sign ὑπόκρισις is quite the rule for marking predicate questions. The article by C. B. Randolph, 'The sign of interrogation in Greek minuscule MSS.,' in *Class. Philol.* v (1910) 309 sqq., does not go to the heart of the matter, as was pointed out in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xx (1911) 295 sq.

[2] I refer to such MSS. as Rome Casanat. 641 (part ii), Naples VIII B 7, and others mentioned above, p. 248 sq.

may account for the use of the sign. Indeed, an analysis of the cases of non-Beneventan MSS. with the suprascript sign only confirms the conviction that the practice of using the sign was a Beneventan speciality. For these non-Beneventan MSS. which use the sign nearly all show clear traces of relations, of one sort or another, direct or indirect, with some Beneventan scriptorium or Beneventan archetype. I give below a number of such MSS., and add (where I can) such details as may help to account for the use in them of the suprascript sign of interrogation.

I. *MSS. having some portion written in Beneventan*

Vatic. lat. 3375 (Eugippius) saec. vi. Semi-uncial.

Probably one of the books of the Bibliotheca Eugippi.[1] A Beneventan hand of the 11th century made corrections and additions. The same hand inserted the suprascript interrogation-sign over words like *cur*, *an*, *quid*, &c., and added the Beneventan period (•;•). Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 3.

London Add. MS. 5463 (Evangelia) saec. viii. Uncial.

Written by order of Atto, Abbot of St. Vincent on the Volturno. The hands of three correctors are distinguishable. The last, which is of the 10th century, made marginal notes and interlineal corrections in Beneventan. This hand added the suprascript interrogation-sign over *quur* on fol. 5 and elsewhere, likewise the Beneventan period (•;•). Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 4. The suprascript sign is also found (added) on fol. 240, which is in Caroline minuscule.

Monte Cassino 4 (Ambros.) saec. ix. Visigothic.

The MS. is of Spanish origin. The Beneventan hand which made corrections and transcribed marginal notes written in Visigothic cursive, added the suprascript interrogation-sign *passim*. Cf. particularly pp. 23, 89.[2]

[1] See above, p. 55, n. 3. [2] Facs. in *Stud. Pal.*, pl. 3.

Vatic. lat. 4770 (Liturg.) saec. x. Script of the province of Rome.

In the middle of the MS., from fol. 216, col. 2, to fol. 216^{v}, col. 1, a Beneventan hand continues the text for thirty-two consecutive lines. The suprascript interrogation-sign and the Beneventan period (•,•) are often employed, e. g. foll. 77, 103^{v}, 164^{v}, 165, &c.

Monte Cassino 5 (Ambros. in Lucam) saec. xi in.

Most of the MS. is in Beneventan, but the first eighteen pages are in ordinary minuscule. Here a corrector inserted the suprascript interrogation-sign as well as the Beneventan period (•,•). Cf. facs. in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 58, which shows both hands.

Vatic. Ottob. lat. 74 (Evangelia) saec. xi. German minuscule.

The gospel book of Henry II (973–1024) with beautiful full-page miniatures of the Ratisbon school.[1] Probably one of the royal gifts to Monte Cassino.[2] Some of the initials in this MS. are imitated in the Beneventan MS. Vatic. lat. 1202 (*Script. Benev.*, plates 70–1). On fol. 176^{v} an omission is supplied in the margin in Beneventan characters; the same hand added *passim* the suprascript interrogation-sign.

Monte Cassino 123 (Sermones) pp. 271–320, saec. xi ex.

The MS. is composed of four distinct parts. Parts i, ii, and iii are in Beneventan of different epochs. Part iv (pp. 271–320) is in ordinary minuscule, with contemporary chapter headings in Beneventan. The suprascript interrogation-sign and the Beneventan period (•,•) are used *passim*.

[1] Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, &c. (Leipsic 1901) pp. 123 sqq.; Beissel, *Vatikanische Miniaturen*, pp. 35 sqq., pl. XVIII; Gaudenzi, *Mélanges Fitting*, ii (1908) 702 sqq. and *Archivio Pal. Italiano*, iv, plates 32–8. Gaudenzi believes the MS. originated in Ravenna—to me an untenable view.

[2] *Chron. Casin.* iii. 74; iii. 90 (*Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* vii. 753 and 808).

Vatic. lat. 378 (Liturg.) saec. xi ex. Script of the province of Rome.

This liturgical MS. was written for the Benedictine abbey of S. Maria in Palladio in Rome, as appears from internal evidence.[1] This monastery was under Cassinese jurisdiction. On fol. 28 is an entry recording the death of Leo Ostiensis,[2] written in Beneventan. Other additions in Beneventan are found on foll. 53 and 72^{v}. Monte Cassino, the mother-house, probably supplied the original for such a book as this, containing the Martyrology, the Rule of St. Benedict, homilies, &c. The suprascript interrogation-sign occurs *passim*.

Vatic. Barb. lat. 560 (XII 3) (Missale) saec. xi/xii. Script of the province of Rome.

On fol. 16^{v} a Beneventan hand added one line. The suprascript interrogation-sign occurs on foll. 19^{v}, 37, 41, 41^{v}, 46^{v}, &c.

Vatic. Barb. lat. 646 (XIV 19) (Liturg.) saec. xi/xii. Script of the province of Rome.

This MS., like the preceding two, is of liturgical character. It contains the Martyrology and the Rule of St. Benedict, and may have been written, to judge from obituary entries, for a Benedictine house in Rome. The fact that many of these obituary notices are recorded by monks using the Beneventan hand,[3] suggests, as in the case of Vatic. lat. 378, that the Roman abbey was under Cassinese jurisdiction, which would account for the presence of Cassinese monks there. The suprascript interrogation-sign is to be seen on foll. 46, 46^{v}, and 47. The initial on fol. 46, a foliated design on a field resembling mosaic work, is manifestly copied from a Monte Cassino model of the end of the 11th century.

[1] Cf. fol. 33^{v}, 'dedicatio huius ecclesie sancte marie in palladio.'

[2] See above, p. 91.

[3] I noted over forty Beneventan entries between foll. 9^{v} and 43^{v}.

Munich 15826 (Salzburg 26) (Cassiodorus) saec. xi. Ordinary minuscule.

From fol. 45 to the end this MS. furnishes the curious example of a Beneventan scribe trying to write ordinary minuscule.[1] He betrays his Beneventan schooling not only by his manner of using the pen, but by particular points, as the occasional use of the ligatures *ri*, *sp*; of uncial *d*, of the closed *t*; of the abbreviations † for *in*, ÷ for *est*, aⁿa for *anima*; of *i*-longa in *iam*, *huius*; and of the Beneventan period (˙,˙). The scribe has left us more positive evidence still. On fol. 96ᵛ in the middle of the ninth line he suddenly dropped into his native writing and finished the page in pure Beneventan. The hand that wrote the first forty-four leaves also shows signs of Beneventan influence. Here the suprascript interrogation-sign occurs *passim*. Cf. foll. 5, 10ᵛ, 12ᵛ, 13, 17ᵛ, 25, 26, 27ᵛ, 28, &c.

Monte Cassino 257 (Petrus Diac.) saec. xii. Ordinary minuscule.

The MS. is supposed to be an autograph of Petrus Diaconus.[2] At least two different hands, however, can be distinguished. One of them, the less Gothic, uses the suprascript interrogation-sign, the other but rarely. The numerals on pp. 18 sqq. are in Beneventan; likewise the words *duodecim* and *decem* on p. 20 sq.

Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277 (Liturg.) foll. 147–54, saec. xii ex. Ordinary minuscule.

The MS. is in Beneventan excepting the last few leaves (foll. 147–54). But even in this portion a Beneventan hand filled part of fol. 150ᵛ which had been left blank, suggesting that the non-Beneventan writing took place in the same centre as the Beneventan. The MS. was written for a nunnery in Zara, which was a Beneventan centre. On fol. 151 occurs: quĩd ploras?

[1] Knowledge of this MS. I owe to Traube.

[2] Cf. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus*, &c., pp. 19 sqq.

II. *MSS. copied from Beneventan originals*

Munich 14765 (Hildemar) saec. x. Ordinary minuscule.

The MS. contains Hildemar's expansion of Paul the Deacon's commentary on St. Benedict's Rule. The text of the Rule is the one which was current at Monte Cassino.[1] The scribe's manner of marking interrogative sentences makes it evident, as Traube noted, that he was copying from an original which used the suprascript sign. Unaccustomed to that system of punctuation, he compromised by placing the interrogation-sign with which he was familiar either after or before the word instead of above it. In the following examples the interrogation-sign used in this MS. is rendered by our own, and the word which, according to Beneventan usage, would have the suprascript sign is given in italics.

fol. 4^{v} *uis*? scire o fili . : . praecipiam?
5 nunc autem querendum est *quare*? iuncxit inobędientiae desidiam?
43^{v} quereret aliquis? *quare* debet . . . ipsum?
43^{v} quasi interrogasset aliquis dicens? *cui* proficit . . . abnegauerit?

It is also important to note that many interrogative sentences have simply the final sign which is the rule in non-Beneventan MSS.

Stuttgart Landesbibl. 4° 12 (Cassiodor.) saec. xii. Ordinary minuscule.

This MS., according to Traube, was copied from a Beneventan exemplar. The occasional use of ꝯ with a stroke through enclitic *i* for *eius* (ꝯ) strongly supports this view. The suprascript interrogation-sign occurs on fol. 5 over *quid*, on fol. 49 over *quare*.[2]

[1] Cf. Traube, *Textgesch. d. Reg. S. Benedicti*, p. 108 (2nd ed., p. 102).

[2] For knowledge of this MS. I am indebted to Traube's notes. My friend Dr. Tafel kindly examined the MS. for me.

III. *MSS. which originated or lay in Beneventan centres*

Monte Cassino 150, pp. 1–64 (Origen) saec. ix. Uncial.

The MS. is composed of two separate parts. Part ii, in semi-uncial, contains the celebrated Ambrosiaster with the famous subscription of 'Donatus presbyter' which connects it with Naples. Part i, the first 64 pages, shows an awkward, ill-formed uncial. Here the suprascript interrogation-sign, along with the Beneventan period, is used by the original hand, e.g. p. 38, quŏ fugiam; p. 54, cŭr tamen uia et dignatio. The fly-leaves are in Beneventan of the best period.

Monte Cassino 29 (Auxilius) saec. x/xi. Script of the province of Rome.

Besides the Beneventan period (•,•) the suprascript interrogation-sign is here regularly used; e.g. quŏta qualitate distinguitur? *or* quĭd ergo utrique se distruunt? absit (p. 107). The use of the point of assertion over *absit* makes it very probable that the MS. was copied from a Beneventan original (see below, p. 273, n. 1).

Monte Cassino 30 (Hieron., &c.) saec. x/xi. Script of the province of Rome.

The suprascript interrogation-sign is found on p. 61, *et passim.*

IV. *MSS. written in neighbouring centres of Rome and vicinity*

Vatic. lat. 3835 and 3836 (Homil., &c.) saec. viii. Uncial.

The two MSS. written by Agimund, presbyter in Rome, are among the few authenticated examples of early writing in that city.[1] In Vatic. lat. 3835 (foll. 29^{v}–47) an 11th-century hand added the suprascript and final interrogation-signs and the Beneventan period (•,•). The few letters inserted or

[1] Cf. Traube, *Textgesch. d. Reg. S. Benedicti*[2], p. 101; *Nomina Sacra*, p. 216.

changed by this hand show non-Beneventan writing which seems of the 11th century. After fol. 47 the punctuation added is (;) and not (⁘). Examples of the suprascript sign occur on fol. 36 over *quomodo, quid, numquid*, on fol. 47 over *ubi.* In Vatic. lat. 3836 the additions and punctuation are likewise by a non-Beneventan hand of the 11th century. The added period is (;). On fol. 71^{v} the suprascript interrogation-sign is used : ũbi est que saluat deitas ?

Bamberg D II 3 (Institutiones) saec. x/xi. Script of the province of Rome.[1]

The suprascript sign occurs on fol. 30 over *utrum* and *an.*

Vatic. lat. 1189 (Vitae SS.) saec. xi. Script of Rome and vicinity.

The suprascript sign occurs *passim*, e.g. on fol. 26^{v} over *quare*, on fol. 52 over *an*, on fol. 101 over *numquid.* In the 14th century the MS. belonged to the monastery of St. Gregory, Rome.[2]

Velletri Capitol. No. 6 (Liber Evangeliorum) saec. xi ex. Same school.

The suprascript interrogation-sign is very frequently employed in this MS. (e.g. foll. 14, 19^{v}, 23, 23^{v}, 24, 34, *et passim*). The form of the interrogation-sign at the end of the sentence is identical with that used in Beneventan MSS. of the time—it differs from the form usually found in MSS. of this region by having two points instead of one under the sign. The presence of Beneventan MSS. in Velletri need not be merely assumed. For Leo, the chronicler of Monte Cassino, on becoming Cardinal of Ostia and leaving his abbey, must have taken with him Cassinese liturgical books. This appears from the fact that Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211, written in Monte Cassino, and in part at least by Leo himself, was in Velletri during the 12th century.[3] And the Exultet Roll, fragments

[1] See below, p. 268, n. 2.

[2] A. Poncelet, *Catal. codd. hagiogr. lat. bibliothecae Vaticanae* (Brussels 1910) p. 34.

[3] Cf. P. Fedele in *Bullettino dell' Istituto Stor. Ital.*, No. 31 (1910) 11 sqq.

of which still exist in Velletri to this day, was brought thither probably by no other than Leo.[1]

Vatic. lat. 653 (Haymo in Ep. Pauli) saec. xi. Written at Subiaco.[2] Same school.

The suprascript sign occurs *passim*. Cf. foll. ix, xxxiii, &c. The Beneventan period (•,•) occurs on foll. i^v and ii. The assertion-sign, which seems a Beneventan peculiarity, is used on fol. cclxi. See below, p. 273, n. 1.

Vatic. lat. 1274 (Lectionar.) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

The suprascript sign is occasionally used by first hand, e. g. fol. 155^v over *quo*; fol. 156 over *quare*. Here and there a corrector has added it (foll. 6^v, 7, 11). But as a rule only the final interrogation-sign is used.

Vatic. lat. 1339 (Canones) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

The suprascript interrogation-sign occurs *passim*. Textually the MS. is related to two Beneventan MSS.[3]

Rome Lateran. 79 (Vitae SS.) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

The suprascript interrogation-sign is a regular feature of the MS.; likewise the Beneventan period (•,•).

Rome Lateran. 80 (Vitae SS.) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

The suprascript sign and the Beneventan period (•,•) are regularly employed.

Rome Vallicell. E 16 (Evangelia) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

As a rule only the final interrogation-sign is used. But the suprascript sign is found on fol. 83^v and on fol. 84.

[1] Cf. Fedele, *Mélanges d'archeologie et d'histoire*, xxx (1910) 313 sqq.

[2] Cf. M. Vattasso–P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vatic. latini* (Rome 1902) p. 507 sq.

[3] Vatic. lat. 1349 and Flor. Laurent. San Marco 604. Cf. E. v. Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (Leipsic 1912) p. 166 sq.

Rome Basilicanus F 34 (fly-leaves) (Liturgical) saec. xi. Same school.

The suprascript sign is used over *quo*, *unde*, *an*.

Rome Basilicanus C 138 (Gregor.) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

The suprascript sign is added on p. 86, also on the last page over *quomodo*.

Rome Basilicanus F 11 (Liturg.) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

On fol. 70 the suprascript sign is added over *quomodo*.

Sutri, Archivio Notarile, Antiche coperte dei Protocolli, Inventario N° 137. Ser. Teolog. N° 38. Three leaves from a collection of homilies, saec. xi. Same school.

The suprascript sign is used over *quare*.[1]

Vatic. lat. 7172 (Hymnar.) saec. xi/xii. Same school.

The suprascript sign is used on fol. 164 over *quis*.

Rome Chigi C VI 177 (Breviar.) saec. xi ex. Same school.

In *uis . . . uidere?* the suprascript sign occurs over *uis* (MS. unpaged).

Oxford Bodl. Add. D 104 (Comment. in Epist. Pauli) a. 1067. Same school. The MS. was written for a church of St. Cecilia, doubtless the one in Rome.[2]

The suprascript sign occurs *passim*.

Zürich Cantonsbibl. (Rheinau) 91 (Hymnar.) saec. xi. Same school.

Suprascript sign over *quis*, *an*; also over *en* in *En virgo*.

[1] Cf. *Archiv. Pal. Ital.* viii, fasc. 28, pl. 2.

[2] Another 11th-century MS. in the Roman script, also written for a church of St. Cecilia, is the Epistolarium in the possession of S. C. Cockerell, Esq., Cambridge. The MS. has the suprascript interrogation-sign on foll. 3, 3v, 4, *et passim*. For these details I am indebted to the owner of the MS.

V. *MSS. of diverse origin and provenance*

Rome Sessor. 39 (1372) (Gregor.) saec. viii.

The MS. is a miscellany. One gathering (foll. 83–90) is in uncial. Here a corrector added the suprascript sign on fol. 83 over *quid, quur*; on fol. 83^{v} over *quur* and *quid*; on fol. 84 over *quid.* It is of interest to note that the collection of Codices Sessoriani of the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele includes several Beneventan MSS., e. g. nos. 32, 53, 56, 81, and 105.

Rome Vallicell. T. XIII (Vitae SS.) foll. 1–134, saec. x/xi. Ordinary minuscule.

The MS. is composed of various heterogeneous parts. Foll. 1–134 form part i. Here the suprascript interrogation-sign is used, e. g. over *quis, quid, quando.*

Flor. Laurent. Ashburnh. 66 (Canones) saec. xi. Ordinary minuscule.

The suprascript sign occurs on foll. 8, 11^{v}, 12, 18^{v}, e. g. fol. 8, *quid ergo est fratres?* (over *quid*); fol. 18^{v}, *uis non timere diem occultum?* (over *uis*).

Brussels 9219 (Evangel.)[1] saec. xi. Ordinary minuscule.

The MS. comes from Aix-la-Chapelle. The suprascript interrogation-sign is used over *quid* and *quomodo.* In *numquid potest cęcus cęcum ducere*, it is placed over the first and the final word, which corresponds to Beneventan usage of the 10th century.

Bamberg B II 15[2] (Cassiodor.) saec. x/xi. Ordinary minuscule.

The suprascript sign occurs frequently, e. g. on foll. 2^{v}, 3^{v}, 5, 21, 101^{v}, *et passim.* The corrector who adds the final

[1] I know the MS. only from a photograph in Traube's collection (foll. 35^{v}, 36), to which Prof. Lindsay called my attention.

[2] On the Bamberg MSS. see Traube, *Palaeographische Forschungen*, iv. 13 and H. Fischer in *Zentralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, xxiv (1907) 383.

interrogation-sign takes the trouble to erase the suprascript sign (e.g. on foll. 3^{v}, 21, 101^{v}, *et passim*), manifestly because it was foreign to his system of punctuation.

Bamberg E III 14 (Hist. de Proeliis, &c.) a. 998–1018. Ordinary minuscule.

As a rule only the final interrogation-mark is used. The suprascript sign may be observed after fol. 222. In this portion the Beneventan period (•;•) also occurs—a coincidence to which attention has been called in a number of preceding cases. The foreign character of these two features and their employment as parts of one system is evidenced by the attitude of the corrector, who erases both the suprascript sign and the comma of the Beneventan period (•;•). A good example occurs on fol. 242, e. g. *quid ad te pertinet qua sim stirpe genitus* •;• Here the corrector erased the sign over *quid*, the comma beneath the two points at the end, and added the final interrogation-mark. The same occurs on fol. 246 and elsewhere. After fol. 255 the scribe stopped using the Beneventan period (•;•).

Vatic. Barb. lat. 588 (XII 31) (Bible) saec. xi ex. Ordinary minuscule.[1]

The suprascript sign occurs on foll. xii^{v}, xiii^{v}, xix^{v}.

Lucca Capitol. 21 (August. in Ioh.).[2] Ordinary minuscule.

The original scribe used only the final interrogation-sign (cf. fol. 121). Here and there it is a later addition. A corrector of the 11th century inserted the suprascript sign *passim*. Cf. foll. 36, 70^{v}, 71.

Lucca Capitol. 13 (Ambros. de fide, &c.) foll. 1–5, foll. 214–41. Ordinary minuscule.

[1] According to H. M. Bannister it is of the Tuscan or Umbrian type.

[2] In the 11th century Monte Cassino established at Lucca the monastery of St. George upon property presented, in 1056, by two nobles of Lucca. Cf. *Chron. Casin.* ii. 90 (ed. Wattenbach, p. 689).

The main part of the MS. (foll. 6–213) is of the 9th century and does not concern us. The suprascript sign is found in the more recent portion, foll. 1–5 and foll. 214–41 (written most likely in Lucca itself), e. g. on fol. 2 over *quid* and on fol. 241 over *quomodo.*

Lucca Capitol. 606 (Comes) saec. xi ex. Ordinary minuscule.

As a rule we find the final interrogation-sign. The suprascript sign was used by first hand on fol. 7 over *quid*; on fol. 138 over *quis.* It is added by a corrector on fol. 34, *et passim.* The MS. is of liturgical character and was written in Lucca.[1]

Lucca Capitol. 19 (August. de civ. Dei). Ordinary minuscule.

The suprascript sign as well as the final interrogation-sign is added.

Lucca Capitol. 123 (Collectio canonum). Ordinary minuscule.

The first hand has only the final interrogation-sign, the second has also the suprascript sign.

Lucca Capitol. 36 (Gregor.) saec. xi/xii. Ordinary minuscule.

The suprascript sign as well as the final interrogation-sign is used *passim* by first hand.

The Assertion-Sign

An interesting sidelight is thrown on the meaning, and perhaps also on the origin, of the Beneventan suprascript interrogation-sign by a second suprascript sign, shaped like the Greek rough breathing ⊦, which is found in a number of Beneventan and in some non-Beneventan MSS. I have called it the 'assertion' sign in contradistinction to the interrogation-

[1] *Lucca all' esposizione della musica e del teatro in Vienna nel 1892* (Lucca 1892) pl. 8.

sign. The name was suggested by a passage which occurs on p. 340 of the MS. Monte Cassino 103 saec. xi (Homilies), in which an interrogation and an exclamation are contrasted, and the contrast is brought out by means of the two signs 2 and ⊦. The passage runs as follows:

> Mirabantur ergo dicentes, qualis est iste, quia et uenti et mare obediunt ei. Non interrogantes dicunt quălis est iste, sed asserentes quod hic talis est cui mare et uenti obediunt. Quăl⊦is est iste, hoc est quă⊦ntus, quă⊦m fortis, quă⊦m potens, quă⊦m magnus. Qu⊦alis est iste, maior Moyse, potentior Helia.

Here *qualis* used in the interrogative sense (*interrogantes*) is contrasted with *qualis* used in an exclamatory sentence having the sense of an assertion (*asserentes*). Now it is only by the intonation of the voice that we show which of the two meanings of *qualis* is meant. We know that the 2-shaped inflexion sign over interrogative *qualis* is intended to call attention to the interrogative intonation of the sentence, and similarly the ⊦-shaped sign over non-interrogative *qualis* must be intended to call attention to another and different intonation. There can be no doubt, then, that the sign used over *qualis*, *quantus*, and *quam* in the passage cited above is an inflexion sign, and it is also clear that it is the inflexional counterpart of the 2-shaped sign. What the precise value of the ⊦ sign is, will better appear from one or two examples.[1]

> Quĭd est maius, orăre, ă⊦n corpus Christi accipere. ŭ⊦tique corpus Christi.[2]

The question ends with *accipere*. The word *utique* begins the answer and requires the intonation of an assertion.

> quĭ⊦bus hoc ascribi oportet, n⊦isi clero et magnatibus Romanae urbis.[3]

[1] The examples are taken from MSS. of varied contents, some of which were doubtless used for reading aloud, others for private perusal.

[2] Rome Casanat. 641 (part ii) saec. x in., fol. 174.

[3] Bamberg P III 20 saec. x, fol. 52. Other examples are found on fol. 105, reproduced in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 35[b].

The interrogative inflexion ends with *oportet*; the *nisi*-clause is practically the answer, and the intonation is that of a declarative sentence. A similar example is:

Quid est titulus? ⊦nisi clauis.[1]

Here there is an interrogation-sign after *titulus* to mark the end of the question, and *nisi clauis*, which is read like an ordinary assertion, has the sign ⊦ over the first word having the changed inflexion.

quid consulit numen. ⊦nosse se omnia quantum ad labores pertinet dicit et concedit totam petitionem, etc.[2]

The question ends with *numen*. The first word of the answer has the assertion-sign.

Numquid reppulit deus populum suum. ⊦Absit.[3]

The question and answer are uttered by the same person. The different intonation is indicated by the two inflexion signs.

Quomodo inuocabunt in quem non crediderunt, ⊦aut quomodo credent ei quem non audierunt.[4]

The juxtaposition of the two signs is instructive. Before rising again to the interrogative inflexion required by the second *quomodo*, the voice descends at the word *aut* to the level of an assertion. The drop is indicated by the sign ⊦.

The above examples—and many others might have been cited[5]—make it quite clear that the function of the

[1] Monte Cassino 434 saec. xi, p. 21. At least fourteen other examples occur in the MS.

[2] Vienna 27 saec. x, foll. 116v–17.

[3] Paris lat. 335[1] (Paul. Epist.) saec. ix, fol. 17. The punctuation is added by a 10th-century corrector.

[4] Paris lat. 335[1], fol. 20. Other examples occur on foll. 18, 139v, 141v (over *nonne*, *nisi*, and *aut*).

[5] A number of examples occur in the 11th-century *Passionarium*, Naples VIII B 7, e.g. foll. 5, 14. Some of the examples in Monte Cassino 434 (Hieron. in Psalm.) are: (I use here the modern punctuation and italicize the word which has the ⊦ sign) Quare psalmi per ista tunc organa canebantur? *Quia* populus carnalis erat (p. 9); Solus Dauid psalmos fecit, an et alii? *Non* solus (pp. 9–10);

assertion-sign was to apprise the reader that, beginning with the word over which the sign was placed, the sentence was to have the intonation of an ordinary assertion. It goes without saying that such a sign was useful in books meant for reading aloud, especially parts of the Bible and *passiones*, which abound in question and answer. But such a sign was particularly helpful in the case of Beneventan MSS., because up to the 11th century an interrogative sentence had no interrogation-sign at the end to show where the interrogative intonation ended, as may be seen from the first few examples given above. It is highly probable then that this circumstance had much to do with the introduction of the ⊦ sign into Beneventan MSS. It may also explain why the sign is apparently unknown outside the Beneventan zone.[1] Non-Beneventan MSS. with the interrogation-sign have it invariably at the end of the question, thus rendering the ⊦ sign superfluous in most cases.

The question which naturally occurs to us is why this particular sign was chosen to mark the beginning of the ordinary declarative intonation. The reason suggested by the learned P. Hugo Gaïsser, whom I was privileged to consult, appeals to me as the right one. According to this authority the sign which I have called the 'assertion' sign is identical with the note *d*, the tonic in the Lydian scale,[2] which scale was adopted in

Quare omnes psalmi Dauid esse dicuntur? *Quia* rex fuit (p. 10); Quis est rex glorię? *Dominus* exercituum ipse est rex glorię (p. 78). I have also encountered this sign in two MSS. written in the script of Rome and vicinity: Monte Cassino 29 saec. x/xi, Quid ergo utrique se distruunt? *Absit* (p. 107); Vatic. lat. 653 saec. xi, sed numquid omnipotens . . . criminibus inuolutis? *Minime* (fol. cclxi).

[1] The two exceptions (cited in the preceding note) which have come to my notice seem to confirm the rule, for they occur in the MSS. Monte Cassino 29 and Vatic. lat. 653, written in neighbouring centres, which show the Beneventan sign of interrogation, a clear index of Beneventan influence. It would be rash to say positively that the sign is not found in non-Beneventan MSS., but I may mention that scholars with wide experience of Latin MSS. like Traube, Delisle, Poncelet, P. Ehrle, and Prof. Lindsay, whom I consulted, had not encountered it.

[2] Cf. F. Bellermann, *Die Tonleitern und Musiknoten der Griechen* (Berlin 1847) p. 27; F. A. Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, i (1875) 215; Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, ii (1880) 1359.

Graeco-Roman music and later in ecclesiastical music. It is the very sign which served as the basis of the system of notation formerly attributed to Hucbald.[1] In the 10th century, as we have seen, the same sign was used as a reading sign in South Italy. It would be too much to claim any connexion between the *Musica enchiriadis* and South Italy; yet such might exist between the musical note and the reading sign. For it is not difficult to understand how a sign which stood for the first note in the musical systems current at the time, should come to be used as a declamation sign which tells the reader that he should lower his voice to the tonic. Be this as it may, it is interesting to observe that a sign which originally came from Greek notation and was apparently used in mediaeval Greek MSS.[2] is also used in Latin MSS. written in centres which were no strangers to Greek culture, the centres in the Beneventan zone.

The Accents[3]

During the first period of the script (saec. viii–ix) the use of accents may be said to be practically unknown.[4] Apart from two MSS. treating grammatical subjects, Vatic. lat. 3313 saec. ix

[1] Cf. Hucbaldi *Musica enchiriadis* in M. Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra* (St. Blasien 1784) i. 153, 174; the work is reprinted in Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 132, cols. 957 sqq. See also Ph. Spitta, 'Die Musica Enchiriadis und ihr Zeitalter,' in *Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, v (1889) 462. On the authorship of the *Musica enchiriadis* see G. Morin in *Rev. Bénéd.* viii. 343, and xii. 394.

[2] Cf. O. Fleischer, *Neumen-Studien* (Leipsic 1895) part i, p. 75: 'im spät mittelgriechischen System bezeichnen die Töne [i. e. acute, grave, circumflex] ein Fortschreiten der Tonbewegung um einen Halb- oder Ganzton, die Hauche [rough and smooth breathings ⊦ and ⊣] aber einen Melodiesprung um eine Terz oder Quinte.'

[3] Wattenbach's account (*Anleitung z. lat. Pal.*[4], p. 96) is brief and inadequate. Steffens has a good description of the accents in Insular MSS. (*Lat. Pal.*[2], Einleitung, p. xv), but he does not discuss their use in other scripts. See also *Nouveau Traité*, ii. 209; iii. 482.

[4] In Vatic. lat. 3320 and Flor. Laurent. 66. 40 the accents are later additions.

and Rome Casanat. 1086 saec. ix., where the accent is used in examples which illustrate the text,[1] I have found them only in Naples VI B 12 (a. 817–35). They are still lacking in Monte Cassino 3, written between 874 and 892. Perhaps the oldest MS. in which their use may be considered established is Monte Cassino 384 saec. ix/x. Thereafter accents are found in one shape or another in most Beneventan MSS.

The usage with regard to accents differed in different ages. During the 10th and the greater part of the 11th century two accents are employed, the acute and the circumflex. The manner of their use recalls the ancient practice mentioned by Priscian and others. For the laws laid down by the old grammarians seem in the main to be followed by our scribes.[2]

Thus we find the circumflex especially placed:

(1) over monosyllables which are long, e.g. *mê, sê, tê, rê, hîs ô, tû*;[3] and—

(2) over a long penult when the ultima is short, e.g. *peccâre, pertinêre, istîus, filiôque.*[4]

The acute is used over short monosyllables and over the antepenult, thus: *án, efficáciter, spirítibus, quandóquidem, iúgiter*, &c.

Whatever may have been the origin of this practice, it is a curious fact that it falls into disuse by the end of the 11th century. The MSS. of the Desiderian period (1058–87), as well as later ones, show as a rule only one type of accent, the acute. Its function is obviously to mark the syllable to be

[1] In Vatic. lat. 3313 I noted *tribunal, tribunâlis, calcar, calcâris, ambîtus, ambíta* (fol. ccxv); in Rome Casanat. 1086 *caupo, caupônis.*

[2] See Priscian's 'De accentibus' in Keil, *Gram. Lat.* iii. 519, and the excerpts from Audax in Keil, l.c. vii. 357 sqq. The Latin grammarians are merely repeating Greek doctrine (Lindsay, *Latin Language,* pp. 148 sqq.) which the Latin scribe apparently endeavoured to put into practice.

[3] I have also noted it over *rem.*

[4] Exceptions to this rule are not few. I mention *uidêri, metîri, diêi, omnîno,* where the long ultima would, according to the grammarians, require the acute and not the circumflex.

stressed in reading aloud, no distinction being made between long and short quantities. An analysis of the accented words in MSS. of this period shows that scribes commonly employed the accent in cases such as these :

(1) over monosyllabic words, e. g. *ré*, *sé*, *mé*, *tú*, *hís*, *tám*, *crás*, *quá* ;[1]

(2) over the long penult of polysyllabic words, e. g. *eádem*, *dedére*, *uníus*, *expedíre*, *oríre*, *miseratióne* ;

(3) over the antepenult, e. g. *áliud*, *inspéximus*, *úiuimus*, *óptimam*, *indúere* ;

(4) over foreign words, e. g. *labán*, *rachél*, *elifáz* ;

(5) over the syllable preceding enclitic *que* ;

(6) on the stressed syllable in the first part of a divided word, e. g. *uír|tus*, *lú|cem*. This accent is easily mistaken for a hyphen ; see below, p. 278 sq.

Accents over two consecutive vowels. In this connexion mention may be made of another sort of accent which also facilitated the reading but which was not concerned with indicating stress or quantity. Two consecutive *a*'s, *e*'s, *i*'s, *o*'s, or *u*'s were often set off by means of accents, thus : *ááron*, *isáác*, *méé* (meae), *insidíís*, *filíí*, *óólibama*, *túús*, *súúm*, &c. This practice, which comes in toward the end of the 11th century, grows more frequent in the 12th and 13th. The accenting of two consecutive *i*'s is older and commoner than that of *aa*, *ee*, *oo*, or *uu*. In Naples VI E 43, written between 1099 and 1118, it is already frequent. I have not found it in Desiderian MSS. (1058–87).

Accented i.[2] From the use of an accent over two consecutive *i*'s, the custom gradually arose of putting an oblique stroke over every letter *i*. This was done to avoid the confusion

[1] The use of accents over monosyllabic words is particularly common in Insular MSS. It is also found in early Caroline MSS.

[2] On accented and dotted *i* see Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, p. 52 sq. ; *Nouveau Traité*, ii. 209 sq. ; iii. 482 ; Delisle in *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, iii (1852) 563 ; Wattenbach, *Anleitung*[4], p. 52.

resulting from the resemblance between the letter *i* and the vertical strokes of *m*, *n*, and *u*.[1] From accented *i* to our dotted *i* was but a short step. In the 13th-century MS. Naples VI G 29 a somewhat later corrector inserted a stroke over nearly every *i*. In Cava 24, however, written in 1295, it is used by the first hand. Here it is important to mention that a stroke over the letter *i* is observable in many MSS. of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries where, however, it is merely an accent, since the stroke forms no part of the letter as such being merely placed over the *i* when that letter happens to be in the accented syllable.[2] So we have *íuit* but not *iuít*, *uínculis* but not *uinculís*.

The Hyphen

For lack of space the scribe frequently had to divide a word and write part of it on one line and the remainder on the next. The practice, however, of indicating the break in the word by means of a stroke or hyphen, as we do now, is not observable in Latin MSS. before the 11th century.[3] As in other matters, here too the Beneventan scribe is distinguished by his conservatism. For he cannot be said to have used the hyphen at all before the 12th century, as will appear from the following statistics.

Beneventan MSS. which antedate the Desiderian period (1058–87) invariably lack the hyphen. It is still absent in dated Desiderian MSS.; for instance, Monte Cassino 99 (a. 1072), Monte Cassino 444 (a. 1075–90), Vatic. lat. 1202 (a. 1058–87). As the MSS. mentioned were executed with the greatest care and

[1] In developed Beneventan, as well as in Gothic minuscule, a word like **minimum** resembled an array of fifteen similar strokes, each scarcely distinguishable from the letter *i*. The stroke over the *i* was a great aid under the circumstances.

[2] This observation was correctly made by Chroust in his description of the Munich MS. of Leo Ostiensis (4623). Cf. *Monum. Pal.*, Ser. i, Lief. x, pl. 2.

[3] Cf. Wattenbach, *Anleitung*[4], p. 87.

precision, and represent the highest point of perfection reached by South Italian scribes, the absence of this feature is certainly due not to carelessness but merely to unfamiliarity with it. In fact the hyphen is still unknown to a considerable number of excellent post-Desiderian scribes, as is seen from the MSS. Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 (a. 1094–1105), Naples VIII C 4 (a. 1094–1105), Munich 4623 (a. 1098–1106), Paris Mazar. 364 (a. 1099–1105), and Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585 (a. 1099–1105).

The first dated MS. in which the hyphen is regularly employed is Naples VI E 43, written in Benevento between 1099 and 1118.[1] During the 12th century the practice gains ground; during the 13th it becomes quite general. But exceptions occur continually,[2] so that the absence of the hyphen is no indication that the MS. is older than the 12th century, whereas its presence, on the contrary, is an unfailing sign that the MS. was written on this side of 1100.

The hyphen, which is made by means of a fine stroke, varies as to position in different MSS. and occasionally in the same MS. It is placed either horizontally after the last letter on the line, e.g. *tri-buisti, disper-sa*; or obliquely on, above, or below the line, thus: *gen˘tis, terri˘torio*; or *interfi˙cit, di˙sposita, rec˙ta*;[3] or *mo/dos, solli/cite, ma/gistrum.*[4] The hyphen, however, is not placed, as Pertz asserts, *above* the first portion of a divided word.[5] In a large number of MSS. of the developed script the syllable which is stressed receives an *accent* in the shape of a very fine oblique stroke. If in a divided word the stress happens to fall on the first part, there is a decided

[1] This date is derived from the list of popes entered at the beginning of the MS. See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 81.

[2] No hyphens occur in Vatic. lat. 4928 (Benevento) c. a. 1113, Monte Cassino 47 a. 1159–73, Rome Corsinian. 777 a. 1226–52, Cava 19 a. 1280.

[3] Cf. Cava 18, written c. a. 1227.

[4] Cf. Monte Cassino 440, written a. 1278–82.

[5] See Pertz' *Archiv*, v. 53; in his description of the Beneventan MS. Monte Cassino 275 saec. xi (Gregor. Turon.) Pertz says: 'Die Theile eines Wortes in zwei Zeilen finden sich selten durch einen feinen Strich am oberen Ende der ersten (fu˙neris) verbunden.'

tendency to use the accent over that syllable.[1] That this mark is an accent and not a hyphen is made clear by the fact that, when in the divided word the accent happens to fall on the second part, no stroke is seen over the first part. The observation will be borne out by an examination of the MSS. I give, in illustration, a few examples taken from one of the most perfect of Beneventan MSS., Vatic. lat. 1202,[2] which are at the same time typical of the usage in vogue after the end of the 11th century.

narrá\|uit	but	fe\|císse
fuís\|set	,,	persua\|siónis
subtí\|liter	,,	ma\|gister [3]
opú\|sculum	,,	ca\|ritate [3]

[1] See above, p. 276.

[2] Written at Monte Cassino between 1058 and 1087; *Script. Benev.*, plates 71–2.

[3] Without any accent.

CHAPTER X

SYLLABIFICATION AND ORTHOGRAPHY

In the matter of syllable division the Beneventan scribe follows the ancient and traditional Italian practice as attested by Roman inscriptions[1] and our oldest Latin MSS.[2] Whether this practice corresponds to the laws of Latin pronunciation or is a mere orthographic device for securing uniformity among scribes and engravers is ultimately a question for the expert in phonetics to decide.[3] What is certain, however, is that Beneventan scribes did not follow the rule laid down by the Roman grammarians, which, as Lindsay tersely states it, was

[1] Cf. Mommsen, 'Die Stadtrechte von Salpensa und Malaca,' in *Abhandlungen d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. K. sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss.* iii (1857) 505; W. Dennison, 'Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions,' in *Classical Philology*, i (1906) 47–68.

[2] Cf. Mommsen, 'Livii Codex Veronensis,' in *Abhandlungen d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Cl. (1868) p. 163, n. 2 and pp. 165–6 (a different method is used in the Florentine Pandects and by the corrector of the Fulda Gospels. These exceptions Mommsen explains as being due to the desire on the part of the scribe or corrector to air his grammatical learning); Mommsen-Studemund, *Analecta Liviana* (Leipsic 1873) p. 3; Brandt, 'Der St. Galler Palimpsest,' in *Sitzungsberichte d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. K. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, cviii (1885) 245–6; Traube, 'Palaeographische Forschungen,' iv, in *Abhandlungen d. hist. Cl. d. K. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* xxiv. 1 (1906) 27; A. W. Van Buren, 'The Palimpsest of Cicero's *De re publica*,' in *Archaeological Institute of America, Supplementary Papers of the Amer. School of Class. Stud. in Rome*, ii (1908) 89 sqq.; E. S. Buchanan, *The Four Gospels from the Codex Corbeiensis* (Oxford 1907), and *The Four Gospels from the Codex Veronensis* (Oxford 1911); Buchanan does not discuss the orthography, but he transcribes line for line. Similar transliteration will be found in other volumes of Wordsworth and White's *Old Latin Biblical Texts* (Oxford 1883–). I have examined facsimiles of other uncial MSS. with the same result.

[3] Cf. Seelmann, *Die Aussprache des Lateins* (1885) pp. 137 sqq., whose views are justly rejected by Hale in his article, 'Syllabification in Roman Speech,' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vii (1896) 249–71.

this:[1] 'Never let a syllable end in a consonant if the consonant can possibly be pronounced at the beginning of the next syllable.'[2] So Servius *in Donatum* teaches explicitly[3]—and the others implicitly[4]—that as many consonants go with the following syllable as can stand at the beginning not only of a Latin but also of a Greek word. According to this doctrine we should divide the following words thus:

vi-ctrix, pro-pter, i-pse, a-tlas, su-bdo, o-mnis.

This, however, is not the way words are divided in Beneventan MSS.; the Beneventan scribe normally divided the same words thus:

vic-trix, prop-ter, ip-se, at-las, sub-do, om-nis.[5]

In the case of groups of consonants introduced by *s*, scribal usage fluctuated, but on the whole *s* was more often joined to the preceding than to the following syllable; thus Beneventan MSS. show divisions such as—

expos-ca,	and	*opu-sculum,*
dis-ciplina,	,,	*di-scipulus,*
His-paniam,	,,	*di-spositas,*
cus-todire,	,,	*apo-stolica,*
illus-trabat,	,,	*po-stremo.*

A similar wavering in practice, due in all probability to

[1] Lindsay, *The Latin Language* (Oxford 1894) p. 124, § 139.

[2] On the testimony of the grammarians see Seelmann, l. c., p. 140; Lindsay, op. cit., p. 125, § 140; and Hale, l. c., pp. 251 sqq.

[3] Keil, *Grammatici Latini,* iv. 427, 20.

[4] Keil, ibid. ii. 45, 4 (Priscian); vi. 351, ll. 879 sqq. (Terentianus Maurus); vii. 157, 2, and especially 205, 1 (Cassiodorus); vii. 263, 22; 268, 20; 273, 7; 279, 19; 286, 3; 289, 28 (Bede); vii. 305, 14; 306, 4; 307, 1; 310, 33 (Alcuin). When Bede teaches '*fructum* cum dicis sive scribis, *c* secundae syllabae iungis' (Keil, vii. 273, quoted by Hale, l. c., p. 256), he is probably enlarging on received doctrine; for the fact, so far as I can judge, is borne out neither by phonetics on the one hand nor by written documents on the other. The same may be said of his injunctions to write and pronounce *maie-stas* (Keil, vii. 279, 19) and *solle-mne* (Keil, vii. 289, 28).

[5] This is also true not only of the majority of Roman inscriptions but also of our oldest MSS. in uncial, and even of Visigothic MSS., as far as I can trust a cursory examination based on my photographs.

pronunciation,[1] is to be seen in the *gn*-group. We find—

pug-nare and *oppu-gnationem*,

but the division commonly falls between the two consonants, which is contrary to the rule of the grammarians.

Insecurity is also noted in composite words, where the desire to divide etymologically[2] comes into conflict with the habit of dividing phonetically, e. g.

co-gnoscamus, *sub-audis*, but *tran-sire*.

Briefly stated, then, the rule followed by Beneventan scribes seems to be this: Divide after a vowel or diphthong unless this involves beginning the next syllable with a group of consonants not found at the beginning of a genuine Latin word; in which case the consonants are distributed between the preceding and following syllables in a manner most conformable to ordinary Latin speech.[3]

Orthography

The test of orthography will become an important means for localizing MSS. as soon as we can define more clearly the orthographic peculiarities of different schools and provinces. In the present stage of our knowledge it is easier to say what spelling is usual in this or that region than to point out the

[1] Speaking of the syllable division in the two tables from Salpensa and Malaga of the time of Domitian, Mommsen (see above, p. 280, n. 1) says that it thoroughly conforms to the rules of Latin speech 'und wohl eben darum bei *gn* schwankt [die Wortbrechung] cog-nitores, co-gnita'. An error by the scribe of Cicero's *De re publica* is probably to be explained by the pronunciation of *gn*. On p. 45, ll. 1–2 (Van Buren, l. c., p. 133) he divides thus: *sexagign-ta*. The second *g* is then expunged.

[2] Such is the division sanctioned by the grammarians from Quintilian (i. 7. 9) to Alcuin (Keil, vii. 306, 4). The latter, repeating the example given by Caesellius (Keil, vii. 205, 4), recommends even *obs-oleuit*, a division which no Italian scribe would normally allow.

[3] Occasionally a scribe slips and divides in a manner which is utterly impossible, e.g. *aedifica|nt* in Naples VI B 12, fol. 3^{v}, col. 1, l. 8; *Script. Benev.*, pl. 14.

spelling peculiar to it.[1] The question is altogether one requiring careful handling, since each MS., properly regarded, presents its own peculiar problems, and the scholar must decide in each case how far the orthography reflects local usage pure and simple, and how far it is a compound of local peculiarities and influences which affected the nature of the MS. in its long course of transmission.

My own observations of the orthography of Beneventan MSS. have furnished no new facts. The spelling found in the generality of Beneventan MSS. is commonplace and calls for no comment. It is scarcely distinguishable from that of other Italian MSS. except in one particular: the Beneventan scribe regularly reproduced assibilated *ti* in words like *natio*, *petitionem*, *citius*, &c., by means of ꝯ which is a form of *ti* specially reserved for soft *ti*. Save through some error he scarcely ever writes *ci* for that sound.[2] In this respect, as has been shown elsewhere, he is unlike most other scribes except the Spanish.[3]

The orthographic features which may be regarded as in a measure typical of Beneventan MSS., since they form rather constant traits of their physiognomy, are the frequent confusion of *b* and *u*, *d* and *t*, and the spelling *michi* and *nichil*.[4]

During the different epochs of the script the orthography seems, on the whole, to vary little; though it is true that the more recent MSS. usually lack the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* found in the 9th century, and that the assimilation of verb and

[1] An exception may be made in the case of Visigothic and Insular MSS., since they present a few marked characteristics in spelling.

[2] To give a few examples. In Monte Cassino 295, p. 100, the scribe wrote *uicia*; this is later corrected to *uiꝯa*. In Vatic. Borgian. lat. 339 I noted *cicius*; in Vatic. lat. 3973, fol. 74, *iniciis*; fol. 279, *ueneciis*. Occasionally the assibilated form of *ti* is used for *ci*, e.g. *faꝯe* in Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277, fol. 150ᵛ; *offiꝯum*, *soꝯorum* in the MS. Rome Chigi c IV 113.

[3] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 24, 25, 46.

[4] That *michi* and *nichil* were preferred to *mihi* and *nihil* is evidenced by the work of correctors. The scribe of Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix wrote *nihil*, *mihi*. An 11th-century corrector added the *c*.

preposition is more common in the more recent MSS. But unassimilated forms occur even in MSS. of the 11th century or later; in all such cases, however, there is probably a special reason, such as an old archetype, to account for it.[1]

For the sake of a rapid survey I give in tabulated form the consonants and vowels most frequently confused in Beneventan MSS. I should hesitate to do this from my own cursory notes on the subject, if it were not that my observations are confirmed by the careful description of Beneventan spelling given in several critical editions of Beneventan texts.[2]

b for *u*
u for *b* } nerbos, uobem, uenebolentiam, &c.

b for *p*
p for *b* } scribsi, puplica, &c.

c for *g*
g for *c* } aucmentum, iugundius, &c.

ch for *h*: michi, nichil, &c.

d for *t*
t for *d* } reliquid, uelud, illut, aput, &c.

f for *ph*: filosofie, anthropofagi, &c.

g for *i*
i for *g* } magestatis, progectat, iesta, coniuie (coniuge), &c.[3]

[1] That the unassimilated forms were regarded as archaic or obsolete appears from corrections. Thus the scribe of Vatic. lat. 3320 saec. ix wrote *conpulsus*. A corrector changed *n* to *m*. The scribe of Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823 saec. ix wrote *inlusionem*, which a corrector changed to *illusionem*. Many more like examples might be cited.

[2] Mention may be made of the following: *Historia Apollonii* (ed. Riese); *Auxilius und Vulgarius* (ed. Dümmler, p. 53); *Solinus* (ed. Mommsen[2], p. ciii); *Vegetius* (ed. Lang); *Leges Langobardorum* (ed. Bluhme; cf. Pertz' *Archiv*, v. 259); *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Mommsen, Proleg., p. lxxviii); *Widukindi Res gestae Saxon.* (ed. Waitz; cf. Pertz' *Archiv*, v. 144); *S. Silviae Peregrinatio* (ed. Geyer, p. ix); *Gregor. Turon. Hist. Franc.* (ed. Arndt; cf. Pertz' *Archiv*, v. 53); *Chron. Monast. Casin.* (ed. Wattenbach); *Tacitus* (ed. Andresen; see also his *Stud. crit. et palaeographica*); *Seneca* (ed. Gertz); *Apuleius* (edd. Helm and Van der Vliet).

[3] See *Stud. Pal.*, p. 15.

h omitted
h superfluous } aud, eri, hid, hubi, &c.

m: frequently omitted or wrongly inserted.

s for *x*
x for *s* } esitus, phalans, iusta, milex.

The vowels most frequently interchanged are: *e* for *ae* (especially after the 9th century);[1] *e*, *ae*, or *ę* for *oe*; *ę* for *e*;[2] *e* for *i*, and *i* for *e*; *i* for *y*, and *y* for *i*; *o* for *u*, and *u* for *o*.

[1] The 11th-century scribe of the Laurentian Tacitus (68. 2) often has *ae*, a spelling which he doubtless took over from his ancient exemplar, but a contemporary corrector changes *ae* to *e* or *ę* (cf. Andresen, *Studia critica et palaeographica*, ii. 23 sqq.).

[2] e.g. *essę*, *rectę*.

CHAPTER XI

MATERIAL DISPOSITION

WITHOUT pretending to treat any of the topics exhaustively, I have put together in this chapter a number of small observations which, though obviously incomplete, may still be of interest to the palaeographer.

Parchment, Pen, and Ink

The colour of ink naturally changes with time. In some of the earliest Beneventan MSS., saec. viii–ix, it has a brownish appearance, in others a pale olive-green. In later MSS. it is rather black than otherwise.[1]

The colour of the ink is not a trustworthy dating criterion. In Monte Cassino 305 saec. xi in. the ink is black in some places and brownish in others. On folio 61 of Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211 saec. xi/xii a change of ink is noticeable though the writing is by the same scribe. The first four and a half lines are black, the rest somewhat yellowish. Evidently the ink was watered. The pallor of the ink is likewise no guide as to age. In a number of 11th-century MSS. written in Monte Cassino the ink has almost disappeared from the flesh side of the parchment. This must have happened within a century or two after the MSS. had been written, because some of them show 12th- and 13th-century attempts at restoring the faded characters of the 11th.[2] The Laurentian Tacitus is a case in point.[3]

[1] Yet in Vatic. lat. 1468 saec. xi in. the ink is rather brownish.

[2] This is true even of the finest Desiderian MSS.; cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 70 (Vatic. lat. 1202, fol. clxii).

[3] On foll. 102v–3 the 11th-century writing is retraced by a 13th-century hand. See facsimiles in the Leyden reproduction of the MS., *Codices Gr. et Lat. photographice depicti*, vii. 2.

The fault lay not in the ink but in the manner of preparing the parchment. In some of the earlier MSS. the minium has grown so dark as scarcely to be distinguishable from black ink.

It is difficult to describe the character of the parchment used in the Beneventan centres. As a rule it is well prepared and has a smooth, somewhat shining surface which is rather yellowish on the hair side and more whitish on the flesh side.[1] The hair side is easily recognizable in most Beneventan MSS. by the little dark spots. The best preserved Beneventan MS. known to me is Rome Casanat. 1101 (A II 32), written in Bari in the 11th century. This volume of the Gospels is as fresh as if it had been written yesterday. The parchment is very white and the ink very black.

An examination of the shaded strokes in Beneventan writing shows very clearly that the pen-point was broad and cut at an angle (/); see above, p. 128.

The Size of MSS.

The size of a MS. must usually have been conditioned not only by the use for which it was destined, but also by the general prosperity of the centre that produced it. Leo Ostiensis tells us that there were few books in Monte Cassino before the 11th century.[2] He might have added that they were small in size compared with the large books produced under Abbot Theobald (1022–35). The general growth and prosperity of the Abbey in the 11th century is reflected in the size as well as in the beauty of the MSS.

A few statistics may be not without interest. Unfortunately in most cases we do not possess the exact original measurements, since the margins have been considerably cut down.

[1] The general look and texture of the South Italian parchment is easily distinguishable from the parchment or vellum used in Germany. The latter is tougher and has not the smooth, glossy, yellowish appearance of the Beneventan parchment. Many Insular MSS. have a dull and somewhat rough surface which is never found in Beneventan MSS.

[2] *Chron. Casin.* ii. 52.

Our only precise data refer to the measurements of the written space itself. For our purposes it will suffice to note merely the length of that space, bearing in mind that the usual MS. was oblong and its written space likewise oblong. The outer margins were wider than the inner, the lower wider than the upper. The outer lateral margin was of about the same width as the lower.[1]

The smallest Beneventan MS. known to me is a book designed—appropriately enough—for ladies. It contains monastic hours and a calendar, written for the nuns, possibly for the abbess, of St. Mary's in Zara, Dalmatia (Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277 saec. xi ex.). The written space in this MS. measures nine cm.[2] Some other small liturgical books, with written space measuring thirteen cm., are: Paris Mazar. 364 saec. xi/xii, Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585 saec. xi/xii, and Vatic. lat. 4928 saec. xii in. Of the same size but of unliturgical character are Monte Cassino 753 saec. viii and Monte Cassino T XLV saec. ix.[3]

The largest Beneventan MS. known to me, Vatic. lat. 4222 saec. xi, is a lectionary written in two columns and measuring, with margins, 63·5 × 37·5 cm. Other MSS. noteworthy for their size are: Vatic. lat. 7810 saec. xi (Vitae Sanctorum), measuring 53·5 × 33 cm., written space measuring 46·2 × 25 cm.; Naples VI B 3 saec. xii (Comment. in Epist. B. Pauli) written by Ascarus during a period of twenty years, the written space measuring 43 cm.; Monte Cassino 57 saec. xi in. (Hieron. et August.) measuring 41 cm.; Monte Cassino 109 saec. xi in. (Homil.) measuring 38 cm.; Monte Cassino 132 saec. xi in. (Hrabanus Maurus) measuring 37 cm.; Monte Cassino 123 saec. x ex. (Josephus) measuring 36 cm.

[1] A very small book of no pretensions, like Monte Cassino 753, must have had a margin of some three cm. A margin of six cm. is frequent. Many MSS. show margins of eight cm., and wider margins also existed.

[2] Another very small prayer book is the 13th-century MS. Chigi c IV 113, written for the nuns of S. Gregory's in Naples. Including the margins the volume measures 9 × 14 cm.

[3] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, plates 75, 79, 80, 82, 7, 19.

I cite a few more measurements. Paris lat. 7530 (Grammat.) and Cava 2 (Isidor.), both written in Monte Cassino between 779 and 797, have a written space of 22–3 cm. In Vatic. lat. 3313 (Isidor.) and Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823 (Isidor.), both saec. ix, the written space is 17 cm.[1] The MSS. Monte Cassino 299 (Grammatica), Monte Cassino 187 (Anticimenon), and Rome Casanat. 641 (part i) (Alcuin), all written in Monte Cassino in the 9th century, have a written space measuring 26 cm. The MSS. Benevento III 9 (Autpertus) and Naples VI B 12 (Pomerius), both saec. ix, with two columns to a page, have a written space of 30 cm.

Disposition of the Page

The arrangement of the page did not depend upon the scribe's whim or fancy. When he set out to rule his page for double columns he did so either because his copy had two columns, or because he aimed at calligraphic results which warranted the freer use of parchment, or because it was the established practice in his scriptorium, or for some other good and substantial reason.

The oldest extant Beneventan MSS. are written in long lines and not in two or more columns.[2] Out of the sixteen oldest Beneventan MSS. known to me only four are written in two columns.[3] This is probably to be explained by the uncalligraphic nature of the script during the 8th and 9th centuries. For as soon as it became more calligraphic the use of two columns became frequent. To be sure, the nature and contents of a MS. often influence the disposition of the page. But in the case of the earliest Beneventan MSS. the use of one column was not due to contents, as the following

[1] The provenance of both MSS. is Benevento.

[2] The statement refers to MSS. containing continuous texts. In glossaries the division of the page into several columns is inevitable.

[3] They are: Benevento III 9, Rome Casanat. 1086, Naples VI B 12, and Vatic. lat. 3320, which contains a glossary. Curiously enough, none of these is from Monte Cassino, and the presumption is that they were all copied from foreign models with two columns.

example shows. Rome Casanat. 641 (part i) and Monte Cassino 3 have in part precisely the same contents. In fact the latter was copied from the former. The Casanatensis, written between 811 and 812, has one column, the Casinensis, written between 874 and 892, has two.[1] The more calligraphic MS. has two columns, the less calligraphic one.

From about the last third of the 9th century the use of two columns became frequent. Large MSS. with pretensions to beauty, such as dedication copies, and especially large liturgical books, which rested on the lectern and were used in divine service, were quite certain to be written in two columns. It was easier for the lector to have a long line broken in two. Books of ordinary size, on the other hand, particularly those containing profane works, were written in long lines. This was also true of certain liturgical books which were meant to be held in the hand and carried about, as psalters, breviaries, &c. Not to render the volume too bulky the scribe used small characters and gave up the two columns to save space. Examples of this kind of book we have in the excellently penned and decorated MSS. Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585 saec. xi/xii and Paris Mazar. 364 saec. xi/xii (*Script. Benev.*, plates 79, 80).

The Signing of Quires

A MS. is normally made up of a number of gatherings, which usually consist of four folded sheets or sixteen pages forming a quaternion or quire proper. Not every gathering, however, is a *quaternio*. The condition of the parchment or other considerations made smaller or larger gatherings inevitable at times. When a book had to be copied in a very short space of time, the quires were distributed among a number of scribes. But not infrequently the entire MS. is the work of one hand. To safeguard against the misplacement of quires they had to be marked in some way which could serve as a guide when the quires came to be united into a book.

[1] Except the first quire, which is written in long lines.

Judging from data at hand,[1] there was no strict rule about marking. This appears clearly from the fact that two scribes working on the same MS. occasionally use different kinds of quire-marks.[2] Still, the great majority of scribes were imitative in their method, and the MSS. display far more uniformity than diversity in the manner of marking quires.

Quire-marks consist either of letters, roman numerals, or catchwords[3] (the word or syllable which stands at the beginning of the following quire). Numerals and catchwords are by far the most common. With the numeral we frequently find, placed before, after, or below it,[4] some abbreviation of *quaternio*, as *QR* written in ligature, *Q*, or *QA*.[5] Of these *QR* was the most common.

Ordinarily the quire-mark is placed at the foot of the last page of the quire, either in the middle of the margin or in the right-hand corner.[6] In a few cases it is found on the first page of the quire—the modern printer's method.[7]

The letters used for quire-marks were usually uncials or capitals. In Naples VI B 3 saec. xii, written by Ascarus, the simple Beneventan minuscule is used. When the alphabet

[1] Unfortunately many MSS. lack the signature, having suffered from the binder's scissors, which dealt ruthlessly with margins.

[2] e.g. the 11th-century MSS. Cava 4, Naples VIII B 4, and Vatic. lat. 3286. Some quires are signed with numerals, others with catchwords.

[3] 'reclamantes' or 'custodes'.

[4] In Vienna 27 saec. x, foll. 120^{v} and 163^{v}, and in Monte Cassino 132 saec. xi in., it follows the numeral. In Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41 saec. xi/xii we find it before or below the numeral, and even between parts of it, e.g. II Q II, which is the fourth quaternion.

[5] Found in Monte Cassino 77 saec. x.

[6] In Oxford Bodl. Canon. Patr. lat. 175 saec. xii in. the quire-marks are in the lower left-hand corner. This is quite unusual.

[7] e.g. in Paris lat. 7530 saec. viii ex. and Monte Cassino 109 saec. xi in. In the Bodleian Juvenal (Canon. Class. lat. 41) we find the signatures on the last page; but at the foot of the first page of the sixth and seventh quires there is a combination of P and R (one line doing duty for the stem of both letters) which E. O. Winstedt (*Class. Review*, xiii. 205) interprets as *prima* (sc. *pagina*). This may also be a sort of quire-mark.

was exhausted Ascarus began again from the beginning, using *aa*, *bb*, *cc*, &c. We find both letters and numerals in the same quire-mark in Monte Cassino 753 saec. viii, e. g. E V, K X, &c. My earliest example of signing by letters dates from the 8th century,[1] my latest from the middle of the 12th.

In most MSS. prior to the 11th century the quire-marks are roman numbers. This method still prevails in the 12th century. In Paris lat. 335 the numbers are written out or abbreviated thus: *PRIMUS*, *SEC.*, &c. The usual position is in the middle of the lower margin. In a relatively small number of MSS. the quire-mark is placed in the right-hand corner.[2] In Flor. Laurent. 66. 1 saec. xi in. it is now in the middle, now in the right-hand corner.

Signing with catchwords is practically the rule in the 13th century. But the same method is employed in a considerable number of 12th-century MSS. My oldest example is from the beginning of the 11th century.[3] The extent of the quire-mark varies from a syllable to several words. The usual position is the lower right-hand corner. Some MSS. have the catchword in the middle of the margin.[4]

Mention may here be made of the ornamental frame with which scribes often embellished the quire-mark. The simplest form of decoration consists of dots placed on two or on all four sides of the letter or numeral. The more enterprising scribe took pleasure in enclosing the quire-mark in a circle, ellipse, square, oblong, or even more complicated figure.[5] Perhaps the favourite device was to frame it on two or four sides by means of parallel and gradually diminishing lines.

[1] e. g. Bamberg HJ IV 15.

[2] e. g. Vatic. lat. 3320, Vatic. lat. 3313, both saec. ix, Vatic. lat. 3549 saec. xi, and Vatic. Barb. lat. 631 (XIV 4) saec. xi ex.

[3] e. g. Benevento VI 33 and Monte Cassino 73.

[4] e. g. Vatic. lat. 4958 saec. xi and Naples VI G 29 saec. xiii. In Rome Chigi C IV 113 saec. xiii the catchwords in the lower margin are at right angles with the text.

[5] e. g. Cava 2 saec. viii ex., Paris lat. 335 saec. ix and x, and Monte Cassino 77 saec. x.

When these lines are drawn on the four sides the effect is of a square space enclosed within the bases of four isosceles triangles. Often, however, these are carelessly drawn and end in a capricious flourish. Occasionally quire-marks are in red.[1]

The Ruling of Quires

After the sheets were folded and united into a quire they were ruled. The ruling varied according as the MS. was to be written in long lines or in two columns.[2] When two columns were intended twice the number of vertical bounding lines were drawn. These perpendiculars, which enclosed the written space, were often in pairs instead of single, the reason being that the space between each pair of perpendiculars was reserved for capitals, which by projecting beyond the line of writing indicated the beginning of a new passage—precisely the reverse of our modern method. The horizontal lines were usually confined between the outer bounding lines. Occasionally, however, they extended beyond them into the margin. Prickings in the margin guided the ruling.

Up to about the middle of the 12th century the ruling is with a dry or hard point. As this manner of ruling depends upon pressure, it is only necessary to apply the hard point with sufficient force to have the impression penetrate several inner sheets. And as a matter of fact, when the parchment is not too tough we find only the two outer pages of the quire showing the direct impression of the point. When the parchment is thick the impression does not penetrate and the ruling is repeated on fol. 3 and fol. 6^{v} of the normal quire or, if need be, on each folio in turn.

My earliest instance of ruling with plummet is in Vatic. lat. 5949 saec. xii ex. At the end of the 12th century I find it in

[1] e.g. in Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x in., Vatic. lat. 7231 saec. xiii, and Oxford Bodl. Canon. Class. lat. 41 saec. xi/xii.

[2] If we except glossaries, there are no Beneventan MSS.—at least to my knowledge—which have three columns to a page.

Naples VIII B 5, Vatic. Ottob. lat. 3, Vatic. lat. 591. Of 13th-century MSS. may be mentioned: Rome Casanat. 614, Vatic. Barb. lat. 528 (XI 171), Rome Vallicell. A 15, and Cava 24 a. 1295.

Corrections

Theoretically, a MS. upon completion went through the hands of a corrector. Considering the number of uncorrected errors that we find in almost every MS., the corrector's duty could not have been taken seriously, or else it was entrusted to men of small scholarship. Again, the corrections encountered in our MSS. are by no means all contemporary with the scribe. In some cases they are several centuries later. And of contemporary corrections some at least are plainly independent of a corrector, since they show signs of having been made by the scribe then and there as soon as he saw his error.

There are at least four different ways of making corrections. If the error was slight the scribe did not resort to erasure, but merely wrote the correct form over the wrong one.[1] This method was also employed by readers who finding errors did not take the time to correct them in better style.

When the error affected several words or lines a common way was to erase the mistake and write the correction in its place. Wherever possible this method was avoided, since the erasure marred the clean look of the page.[2] Another frequent method was to correct by cancelling. Through the wrong letter or letters a fine line was drawn, usually obliquely from right to left, and the correct reading was placed above the cancelled one.[3]

The commonest way of supplying or indicating small omissions and making small changes was to use dots, *expun-*

[1] Cf. Vatic. lat. 3320, where assibilated *ti* is often written over the ordinary *ti*. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 18.

[2] Cf. Vatic. Pal. lat. 909. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 55.

[3] Cf. Flor. Laurent. 68. 2. The entire MS. is reproduced in the Leyden series, *Codd. Gr. et Lat. photographice depicti*, vii. 2.

gere. These dots were usually placed, one or more in number, below the wrong or superfluous letter; occasionally also above the letter, or even all around it.[1] If the correction involved not only the omission of certain letters but also their replacement by others, the correct letters were inserted in the space above the wrong ones. When an entire word had to be substituted the correct form was placed interlineally above the wrong word and both were preceded by one or two dots (:).[2]

In the case of omissions of some length the scribe or corrector was wont to put hd above the place in the text where the omission occurred, and hp (or hs) before the supplied passage inserted in the margin.

Occasionally the corrector wrote the right form in the margin, marking the incorrect form by some arbitrary sign repeated in the margin.[3] Omitted *h* was often indicated by means of a sign resembling the rough breathing in Greek uncial MSS. (ⱶ). The sign was inserted above the omission.[4] Where a superfluous *h* occurred it was marked by the same sign reversed,[5] that is, by the smooth breathing. Any other letter, if omitted—excepting *m* and *n*, which had their peculiar symbols—was inserted interlineally above its proper place in the line.[6]

The letter *R*, signifying *require*, is found in the margin opposite passages which caused difficulty to the copyist or seemed puzzling or doubtful to a reader or corrector.

[1] Cf. Monte Cassino 97. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 36, col. 2, l. 20.

[2] In Vatic. lat. 4939 saec. xii both the dot and the inserted letter are in red.

[3] The corrector of Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix often uses a mere dot. See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 21.

[4] My earliest example is from the 11th-century MS. Vatic. lat. 1468, but it doubtless occurs much earlier.

[5] Cf. Monte Cassino 28, p. 73, col. 2, penultimate line, reproduced in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 61[a].

[6] Cf. Monte Cassino 73, p. 30, col. 1, l. 19 and col. 2, l. 13, reproduced in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 62.

Special Types

Greek words occurring in a text were usually in uncial. To give the foreign word greater distinction the scribe occasionally drew a horizontal line over it, e.g. $\overline{\text{ΘΕΟC}}$, *id est deus*; or marked it by means of a transparent yellow wash, a favourite means of calling attention.[1] Again, to make a contrast we find uncials used among ordinary Beneventan minuscule, where nowadays we should use italics, e.g. *uocabula . . . in TIOR deponens*[2] or *exeunt tamen in unam terminationem, id est, RUS.*[3]

Numbers

Numbers when not written out are represented by roman numerals.[4] Number four is made by four consecutive *i*'s, not by iv, and number nine by viiii, not by ix. After the beginning of the 10th century the final *i* often descends below the line.[5] This is generally the rule in MSS. of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries.[6] Occasionally it is the penultimate *i* which extends below the line.

Number five is at first represented by letter *u*. Early in the 10th century we encounter a form which resembles more our *v*.[7] In the 11th century and later it is distinctly v-shaped.[8]

The custom of enclosing numerals between points, which is an ancient practice, is perpetuated here and there in our MSS., but with no regularity.[9] We also find the point now before the numeral, now after it.[10]

[1] e.g. Vatic. lat. 3313 saec. ix, Monte Cassino 299 saec. ix, Monte Cassino 295 saec. x/xi, and others.

[2] Vatic. lat. 3313. [3] Monte Cassino 299.

[4] Arabic numbers are found in Vatic. Ottob. lat. 3 saec. xii/xiii; but whether by the first or by a later hand it is difficult to decide.

[5] See Monte Cassino 218 a. 909 and the quire-signatures of Vatic. lat. 5845 saec. x in. In Vatic. lat. 3342 saec. x there are cases of final *i* below the line, and also projecting like *i*-longa above it. Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 43.

[6] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 72 (Vatic. lat. 4958 saec. xi ex.).

[7] Cf. ibid., pl. 40 (Vatic. lat. 5845). [8] Cf. ibid., pl. 72 (Vatic. lat. 4958).

[9] Cf. Cava 2, Monte Cassino 3 and 332. [10] Cf. Bamberg E III 4 saec. ix/x.

In Monte Cassino 332 saec. ix/x (last quire) I noted *quattuor* written thus: *iiiior.*

Colophons, Titles, Rubrics

In Beneventan MSS. we rarely find colophons or titles written in rustic capitals, a noteworthy fact in view of their frequent use in MSS. coming from the neighbouring scriptoria of Rome and vicinity, not to mention those from the more distant centres of North Italy, France, and Spain.

In the early period of the script (saec. viii–ix) colophons are frequently written in uncial letters and in ordinary ink.[1] Gradually colophons written in Beneventan letters come into vogue. These, as a rule, are red, to contrast with the letters of the text, which are black. Colophons written in a curious type of bastard uncials are found in a number of MSS. of the 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries.[2] The outlines of the letters, as well as the spaces enclosed by them, are frequently distinguished with one or more tints. In some MSS. the inside of these uncials is filled with ordinary ink, in others the uncials are merely drawn in outline.[3] Occasionally the whole colophon is covered with a yellow transparent wash.[4]

In a few MSS. rubrics or summaries occur in the margin. In Vatic. lat. 3342 saec. x and Pal. lat. 909 saec. x/xi the rubrics are enclosed within figures, which vary in shape with the size of the written matter and the fancy of the scribe. In Oxford Bodl. Patr. lat. 175 saec. xii in. the rubrics are written in the margin at right angles with the text.

[1] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, plates 7, 9 (Monte Cassino 753 and Paris lat. 7530).

[2] e. g. Flor. Laurent. 73. 41 saec. ix, Benevento III 9 saec. ix, Monte Cassino 132 saec. xi in., Vatic. lat. 595 saec. xi ex. See *Script. Benev.*, plates 11, 12, 59.

[3] e. g. Vatic. lat. 3313 saec. ix, Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823 saec. ix, Flor. Laurent. 66. 40 saec. ix ex., Vienna 27 saec. x, Monte Cassino 77 saec. x, Vatic. lat. 5735 saec. xi ex., &c. See facsimiles in *Script. Benev.*, plates 15, 17, 25, 31, 52.

[4] e. g. in Bamberg E III 4 saec. ix/x, Monte Cassino 295 saec. x/xi, and others.

Ornamentation

The subject of miniatures and initial decoration does not properly fall within the province of this work. An exhaustive study of the whole subject is promised by a pupil of Dvořák of Vienna.[1] Meanwhile the student will get a good idea of the characteristics of the Cassinese style of initial ornamentation from the chromo-lithograph facsimiles in Piscicelli Taeggi's splendid *Paleografia artistica di Montecassino, Longobardo-cassinese* (Monte Cassino 1878).[2] Although our modern processes are capable of reproducing the original colours more faithfully, Piscicelli's work was excellent for its time and is still indispensable. Here I merely mention the well-known milestones in the development of South Italian initial decoration.

After the MSS. of the 8th and 9th centuries, which show the initials in their simplest form, the development may best be traced in the following MSS.:[3]

(1) Monte Cassino 175 (a. 915–34), Monte Cassino 269 (ante a. 949), of the Capuan period;

(2) Monte Cassino 77 (saec. x ex.), Monte Cassino 759 (saec. x/xi);

(3) Monte Cassino 73, 104, 109, written under Abbot Theobald (1022–35);

(4) Monte Cassino 99 and Vatic. lat. 1202 (1058–87), written

[1] Cf. F. von Baldass, 'Zur Initialornamentik der süditalienischen Nationalschrift,' in *Anzeiger d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. Kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien*, No. xxv, Dec. 6, 1911.

[2] On the subject see also his *Le Miniature nei codici cassinesi* (1887, &c.); Dom Latil, *Le Miniature nei rotuli dell' Exultet* (Monte Cassino 1899–1901); É. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale* (Paris 1904) i. 155 sqq.; 193 sqq.; J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (London 1911) pp. 163 sqq. The reproductions in Seroux d'Agincourt's *Histoire de l'art*, &c. (Paris 1823) are too inexact and reduced to be of use to the student.

[3] Most of them are reproduced in *Scriptura Beneventana*. For their contents see list of MSS. given below in the Appendix.

under Abbot Desiderius, which show new elements borrowed from the school of Ratisbon ;[1]

(5) Monte Cassino 47, Vatic. lat. 6082 (Monte Cassino), of the second half of the 12th century ;

(6) Monte Cassino 85 and 115, written about 1200—the very last representatives of the peculiarly Beneventan style.

The 13th century marks the introduction of the Gothic type of initial, in blue and red, with scroll-lines in the same colours counter-changed; as in Monte Cassino 440 and Cava 24.

[1] The new type of initials found in Vatic. lat. 1202 is manifestly copied from such German models as the Gospels of Emperor Henry II (Vatic. Ottob. lat. 74). The latter MS. has some Beneventan writing on fol. 176^{v} and the Beneventan punctuation is added *passim*. I think there can be no doubt whatever that this very book once was in Monte Cassino and served there as a model to the excellent miniator of Vatic. lat. 1202. I also believe that Vatic. Ottob. lat. 74 is one of the royal gifts recorded in the Chronicle of Monte Cassino (see above, p. 260, n. 2).

CHAPTER XII

RULES AND TRADITIONS OF THE SCRIPT

HAD we been present at a writing lesson given at Monte Cassino, Benevento, Bari, or any other South Italian scriptorium, in any year between the end of the 9th and the middle of the 13th century—to use safe limits [1]—we should, I believe, have been impressed with the difficulties that had to be mastered in order to write faultless Beneventan.[2] The mere reproducing of letters in accordance with a given model formed but part of the scribe's lesson, the mechanical part, which by dint of practice soon became second nature. The more difficult part of the lesson had nothing to do with skill in penmanship as such, yet without it correct Beneventan was impossible. Its concern was with the application of certain principles or rules.

In order to appreciate what these rules were, let us take a concrete example. Let us imagine a beginner trying to copy the following two sentences from an original written in Caroline minuscule—the easiest kind of exemplar:

> Venite emite absque argento et absque ulla commuta*ti*one uinum et lac. *Quare* appendi*tis* argentum non *in* panibus et labore*m* *ūr̄m* non *in* satu*r*itate?[3]

All was simple until the scribe reached the word *commuta-*

[1] Within these time limits the character of the script was fixed and practically unchanged. Before the end of the 9th century the script was in a more or less fluid state. After the middle of the 13th it was rapidly abandoning its traditions.

[2] This statement takes for granted that Beneventan only was practised in South Italy. My reasons for holding this view have been given above in chap. v. I am aware, however, that even during the 12th century the ordinary minuscule was in some places disputing the field with the Beneventan.

[3] Isaiah 55. 1–2. Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 68.

tione. Here a rule was involved. He had to be on the alert in order to write the correct form of *ti.* He could not merely substitute Beneventan letters for the Caroline. He had to pronounce the word to himself and graphically represent the soft sound of *ti.* When he came to *appenditis* he had to remember to use quite another form of *ti* in order to represent the hard sound, although his exemplar used the same form in both words. In copying *saturitate* he had to combine *r* and *i* and use a definite ligature for the uncombined *ri* of his Caroline exemplar. In his model he found short *i* everywhere, but he was required to use *i*-longa in the word *in.* The Caroline scribe used the same stroke to indicate the abbreviation of *uestrum* and the omission of *m* in *laborem,* the Beneventan had to use a horizontal stroke to mark the abbreviation and quite a different sign, shaped like number 3, for the *m*-stroke. In the last sentence, which contains a question, the Caroline original had a sign of interrogation at the end, our scribe had to remember to use a 2-shaped sign over *quare,* placing it as nearly as possible over the accented syllable.

From all this it is clear that no mechanical transliteration of a foreign exemplar was possible for the Beneventan scribe, since correct copying involved at almost every step an act, though ever so slight, of judgement or of memory. To be sure, as the scribe grew familiar with the rules these acts became fairly subconscious; but thoughtless copying was out of the question when the exemplar was non-Beneventan. And if this was true when he copied from a Caroline MS., how much more so when the original was in *scriptura continua*! Here a mistake in the division of words might influence the choice of the form of a letter. If his original in *scriptura continua* had *ETIAM* the scribe must write *e*ꝫ*am* or *et Iam* according as he made one or two words out of his original. Thus he was constantly called upon to make decisions upon which depended the form of the letters he used. To perform his task properly it was incumbent upon him to master the rules of the script.

What were these rules? How were they taught? I fancy they were formulated for the beginner in some such way as this:—

1. Distinguish between the soft sound of *ti* (as in *natio*) and the hard sound (as in *natis*). Write ꝟ for the soft sound, and ꝯ for the hard sound.[1]

2. Whenever *ei*, *fi*, *gi*, *li*, *ri*, or *ti* occur in a word, the two letters should be written in combination, the *i* having the enclitic form which extends below the line, except in the case of *e* followed by semi-vocal *i*, when *i*-longa is permissible as in *eIus deIcio*.[2]

3. When *i* has the semi-vocal sound use *i*-longa, as in *Iam*, *eIus*, *IeIuniis*, &c. Likewise when *i* occurs at the beginning of a word, the long form is preferred (*In*, *Impar*, *Itinera*, &c.), except when the following letter extends above or below the line, rendering the long form uncalligraphic, e. g. *ibi* (not *Ibi*), *ille*, *ipse*, &c.;[3] or when initial *i*, by having the long form, might be mistaken for semi-vocal *i*, e. g. *ierat*, *ionius*, *iuit* (not *Ierat*, *Ionius*, *Iuit*).

4. The omission of *m* should be denoted by the 3-shaped *m*-stroke, and not by the ordinary abbreviation-stroke.[4]

5. When a sentence is interrogative, place an inflexion sign shaped like arabic number 2 over the interrogative pronoun or adverb (cŭr, quĭd, &c.) in a nominal question, and over the word or words which receive the raised inflexion in a predicate

[1] Note that sound was the criterion.

[2] Two rules came into conflict here, and the practice therefore varies. See above, p. 143.

[3] The matter was thus left to individual judgement, and the practice varies. In prepositional phrases like *In italiam*, *ad imaginem*, the short form of *i* is often used because the phrase was considered as one word. On the other hand, words like *deInde*, *exInde* are often written with *i*-longa, owing probably to the inveterate habit of writing *in* with *i*-longa.

[4] That the two were not regarded as interchangeable is to be seen from the substitution by correctors of the 3-shaped sign for the horizontal stroke where the latter had been employed to denote omitted *m*. Yet there are MSS.—they are the exceptions—in which omitted *m* is invariably marked by means of the horizontal stroke. See above, p. 171 sq.

question. (For the punctuation at the end of the question the rules differed in different ages. See the detailed discussion given above, pp. 236 sqq.)

The above five rules and customs (for only the first two are strictly rules which must not be transgressed, the rest being traditional practices which allowed some latitude) constitute the most characteristic features of the Beneventan script. To these must be added the abbreviations. For a mastery of the abbreviations current in his school and age formed an important part of the scribe's writing lesson (see above, pp. 153 sqq.).

THE *ti*-DISTINCTION

This is the most important of the rules, because of the rigour with which it was observed and also because of its effect upon the orthography of Beneventan MSS.

In classical Latin *ti* must have had one sound, as appears from the evidence of inscriptions and our oldest Latin MSS.; also from the absence of any statement to the contrary on the part of grammarians. But we know that the assibilation of *ti* began at a relatively early period, as some instances date back as far as the second century. Its prevalence since the 4th century is attested by the fact that most of the later grammarians from Pompeius to Isidore do not fail to call attention to the phenomenon. Isidore in fact finds it necessary to teach that words like *iustitia*, *militia*, *malitia*, &c., being Latin, should be written with a *t*, and not with a *z*, as the pronunciation would suggest.[1]

It is important to remember that the assibilation of *ti* does not invariably take place wherever *ti* is followed by a vowel.[2]

[1] For further details see *Stud. Pal.*, p. 17 sq.

[2] On the assibilation of *ti* and the exceptions see the citation from a mediaeval grammarian given by Ch. Thurot in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, &c., xxii (1868) part 2, p. 144 sq. See also the statement made by Papirius (Keil, *Gram. Lat.* vii. 216) quoted in *Stud. Pal.*, p. 18. There I also call attention to erroneous formulation of the *ti*-usage in Beneventan MSS. It is not enough that *ti* should be followed by a vowel. It must have the soft sound in order to

There are three exceptions. No assibilation takes place—

(1) when *ti*, followed by a vowel, is preceded by the letter *s*, e. g. *caelestia*, *hostiis*, *quaestio*, *uetustior*, *istius*, &c.;

(2) when *ti*, followed by *i*, stands for *tiui*, as in the verb-ending of the perfect tense in *ui*, *uit*, &c., e. g. *petii*, *petiit* for *petiui*, *petiuit*, &c.;[1]

(3) when *ti* represents the sounds of τι or θι as, for example, in *Eustratius*[2] (from εὐστράτιος) or *strutii*[3] (from στρουθίον).

For the practical purpose of facilitating reading, especially reading aloud, it was only natural that attempts should in time be made to eliminate the chance of confusion by graphically distinguishing the two different sounds of *ti*.[4] And as a matter of fact traces of the attempt at differentiation are observable during the 8th and 9th centuries in many quarters.[5] But, except in two schools, the attempt remained abortive. The Beneventan and Visigothic scriptoria did in time reserve separate forms for assibilated and unassibilated *ti*; and the practice gradually became a cardinal rule of their calligraphy, earlier, however, in the Beneventan.[6]

The history of the *ti*-distinction in Beneventan may be briefly sketched as follows:—

have the form ꝯ. Wattenbach, Steffens, and Chroust observed correctly that the graphical distinction was a matter of phonetic differentiation. So acute an observer as Andresen failed to see that (*Stud. crit. et pal.* i. 8).

[1] I have observed it often in Benevento IV 15 saec. x/xi and Rome Vallicell. T. IX.

[2] The name occurs again and again with unassibilated *ti* in Rome Vallicell. T. III and London Egerton 2889.

[3] The word occurs in Munich 337. Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 42[a], col. 1 *ad fin.* (*suco strutii*). The word is incorrectly transcribed in *Roman. Forschungen*, i. 91.

[4] If we limit our consideration to calligraphic products, the need of such a distinction must have first been felt in connexion with liturgical books. For it is clear that the use of two forms of *ti* made the lector's task considerably lighter.

[5] For instance, in Spain (minuscule part of Autun 27), in France (Paris lat. 12168, 8921), in North Italy (Milan Ambros. B 31 sup., Vercelli 148, Rome Sessor. 40 (1258), 41 (1479), 96 (1565), and 63 (2102)).

[6] Cf. above, p. 115 sq.

The oldest South Italian MSS. do not display the *ti*-distinction. We find, for instance, *uꝯle*, *mitꝯtur*, and *uiꝯis*, *miseraꝯo*, &c. in Monte Cassino 753 saec. viii ; and *accipieꝯs*, *inuenieꝯs*, and *modulaꝯo*, *sentenꝯis*, *noꝯꝯam*, and *poꝯus* (with ordinary *ti*), &c. in Bamberg HJ IV 15 saec. viii. In these two MSS. we find not only ordinary *ti* where later only ꝯ is permitted, but what is more characteristic, the form ꝯ is used indifferently for the hard and the soft sound, in which respect they resemble other pre-Caroline MSS. By the end of the 8th century, to judge by two dated MSS. from Monte Cassino, the custom of graphically distinguishing the two sounds of *ti* must have been known in that scriptorium. For the Cassinese scribes of Paris lat. 7530 and Cava 2 observe the distinction with fair regularity. It is only here and there that we find assibilated *ti* represented by ordinary *ti* (ꝯ) and not by ꝯ. As was to be expected the practice won its way slowly. During the whole of the 9th century there is considerable insecurity with regard to the *ti* usage.[1] This is especially noticeable in the case of MSS. written outside of Monte Cassino.

The scribe of Monte Cassino 187, who wrote before the year 883, still shows imperfect mastery of the *ti*-distinction.[2] By the end of the 9th century, however, the practice may be said to be firmly established.[3] Thenceforth it is a rule of the script.

The transcription of ꝯ. In this connexion a few words on the transcription of ꝯ will not be out of place. The ligature ꝯ is a combination of *t* + *i* in which the *t* has the same

[1] See e. g. the MSS. Benevento III 9, Flor. Laurent. 73. 41, Naples VI B 12, Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823, Vatic. lat. 3313, Vatic. lat. 3320, and Flor. Laurent. 66. 40. The mistakes in these MSS. consist not in the promiscuous use of ꝯ but in the use of ordinary *ti* (ꝯ) for the soft sound of *ti*.

[2] His errors were rectified by an 11th-century corrector.

[3] Occasionally a scribe betrays his imperfect understanding of the value of the form ꝯ by using a superfluous *i* after it, e. g. *spaꝯiis* for *spaꝯis*. See facsimile of Monte Cassino 332 in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 30, col. i, lines 19, 30. Mistakes found in MSS. of the developed period are usually due to wrong division of words in copying from exemplars in *scriptura continua*.

'proclitic' form as in the ligatures *ta*, *te*, *tu* (see above, p. 148). Scholars who transcribe this ligature by means of *ci*[1] are misled by the resemblance of 'proclitic' *t* to a form of *c* which we call 'broken' *c*. That this is an incorrect analysis of the ligature will be seen from the following considerations. Our oldest Beneventan MSS. use ꝟ in words like *uꝟle*, *mitꝟtur*, where *ti* is the only possible transcription of the ligature. The same MSS. use ꝟ where *ti* has the soft sound, e. g. *graꝟa*, *uiꝟum*. In fact we find the same ligature used both for hard and soft *ti* in one word, e. g. *peꝟꝟonem*, *iusꝟꝟa*, where obviously *ti* is the only correct rendering of the ligature. That the form ꝟ did not stand for *ci* in the mind of the Beneventan scribe clearly appears from an examination of any page of Beneventan writing. Let us take a concrete example. On p. 403 of the MS. Monte Cassino 305[2] *ci* is followed by a vowel five times, by a consonant four times; and ꝟ occurs four times. The actual words are:

> spe*ci*osa, commer*ci*um, feli*ci*a, indi*ci*a, sufi*ci*at;
> prin*ci*pio, con*ci*piens, sus*ci*peret, uo*ci*tem;
> infanꝟe, paꝟendo, alꝟor, genꝟum.

Thus we see that *ci* and ꝟ were kept entirely distinct.

The page examined is typical. Words like *pertinacia*, *species*, *Decii*, *socio*, *Ancius* are invariably spelt with *ci* and not with ꝟ. The Beneventan scribe managed to preserve the classical spelling of these words because *ci* and ꝟ, though their pronunciation may have been similar, were not interchangeable.

The above arguments are, I believe, sufficient to prove that ꝟ must be transliterated by means of *ti*, but the evidence of corrections establishes the fact beyond all possible doubt. The scribe of Monte Cassino 187 saec. ix wrote *perniꝟe* for

[1] The ligature is thus transcribed by F. Madan and E. W. B. Nicholson (*A Summary Catal. of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, &c., iv. 372; v, p. xiv) in the word *Dalmatie*, which occurs on fol. 147ᵛ of Oxford Bodl. Canon. Lit. 277. For other instances see *Stud. Pal.*, p. 25, n. 2.

[2] *Script. Benev.*, pl. 63.

pernicie. An 11th-century corrector changed ꝺ to *ci.* There would have been no sense in doing so, if ꝺ were the equivalent of *ci.* Similarly in Monte Cassino 440 saec. xiii the scribe wrote on fol. 17, col. 1, l. 30 *condiꝺonibus.* This is corrected to *condicionibus.*

In Monte Cassino 5 saec. xi in. *praecio* occurs for *praetio.* A corrector changed *ci* to ꝺ.[1] On p. 100 of Monte Cassino 295 saec. x/xi the original hand wrote *uicia*, the letter *c* having the broken form. A corrector changed *ci* to ꝺ. Here the broken form of *c* is changed to the 'proclitic' form of *t.* This example demolishes the foundation of the theory that ꝺ = *ci*, since it proves that ꝺ has nothing to do with broken *c.*

So much for the correct transcription of the ligature ꝺ. I am aware that if we render ꝺ by means of *ti* in editing a Beneventan text we do not show that a graphical distinction is made in the MS. For all practical purposes, however, a note at the beginning of the edition will suffice to call attention to the phonetic and graphical distinction observed by the scribe.[2]

Ligatures with enclitic *i*

Next in strictness after the *ti*-distinction is the rule for the use of the ligatures with enclitic *i.* The forms ꝼ, ﬕ, ﬖ, ﬗ, ﬔ, ﬓ or ꝺ are regularly used wherever the two letters *ei, fi, gi, li, ri,* or *ti* occur in the same word. But, as in the case of the *ti*-distinction, this does not happen at once. The earliest MSS. (saec. viii–ix) furnish many exceptions. It is not before the close of the 9th century that the usage becomes uniform.[3] A clear proof that correct calligraphy demanded the regular use of these ligatures is to be derived from a study of corrections. The scribe of

[1] The first eighteen pages of this MS. are in ordinary minuscule. On p. 16 *iusticia* is corrected to *iustitia.* On p. 17 *cogitacio* is corrected to *cogitatio.*

[2] To reproduce the ligature in our texts only serves to disturb the familiar look of the printed page. See, for instance, the edition of the Munich MS. of Dioscorides Latinus in *Romanische Forschungen*, i. 53 sqq.

[3] Exceptions to the rule are to be noted in Bamberg E III 4 saec. ix/x, but the MS. shows other features which are foreign to Beneventan methods.

Vatic. lat. 3320 wrote *diei* with uncombined *ei*, which a corrector modified to ꝺ̨. In the word *iactanti* on p. 153 of Monte Cassino 187 the scribe combined *n* and *t*, and left the *i* unattached. A later corrector carefully calls attention to the error by placing a dot over the word in the text and writing the ligature ꝺ̨ in the margin next to a corresponding dot. The scribe of Paris lat. 335 wrote uncombined *fi* on fol. 124ᵛ. A corrector changed this to ﬁ. And many other instances might be mentioned.

The use of *i*-longa

The use of *i*-longa in Beneventan MSS. is a practice taken over from cursive writing.[1] The Beneventan notary who wrote in cursive the Diploma of Grimoald of the year 810[2] uses *i*-longa initially and medially in precisely the same manner as do Beneventan scribes of the best period. But the scribes of the early Beneventan MSS. of the 8th and early 9th centuries show insecurity in their use of *i*-longa or fail to use it altogether.[3] An exception ought perhaps to be made in the case of Monte Cassino; for, to judge by the late 8th-century MSS. Paris lat. 7530 and Cava 2, Cassinese scribes must early have had a clear sense of how to use *i*-longa. By the end of the 9th century the use of *i*-longa had become an established feature of Beneventan calligraphy, which lasted as long as the best traditions of the script were preserved.[4] The broad principles in accordance with which *i*-longa was employed are stated above, on p. 302. Much latitude was left to the scribe, which accounts for the lack of perfect uniformity of practice. That the use of *i*-longa, however, was governed by rules and formed one of the chief characteristics of the Beneventan script are facts to which our MSS. bear ample testimony.

[1] On the history of *i*-longa see *Stud. Pal.*, pp. 1 sqq.

[2] Cf. *Script. Benev.*, pl. 6. [3] ibid., plates 7–20.

[4] In a few 13th-century MSS. (Flor. Laurent. 29. 2 and Rome Sessor. 32 (2093)) which are conspicuous for the adoption of diverse foreign elements, we find short *i* even in words like *in, iam*.

And since we find correctors modifying short *i* to *i*-longa, it is a clear sign that the two forms could not be used indifferently. Further proof that the regular use of *i*-longa was habitual with well-trained scribes may be had from an examination of marginalia and interlineal glosses.[1] For in such crowded writing the short form of *i* would certainly seem more suitable and natural. Yet the Beneventan scribe used *i*-longa in the marginalia precisely as he did in the longest text. He did so because it was a rule he had learnt with his first lessons in writing.

The practical value of the rules

To the palaeographer these rules are interesting in themselves. Their very existence is for him significant. Script rules presuppose system, tradition, and a high sense of the dignity of book-making. In South Italy to write a book was to write Beneventan; and to write Beneventan was to observe certain rules. A knowledge of these rules, then, brings us that much nearer to the ancient scribe. But have these rules any value to the philologist and editor of mediaeval MSS. or documents? They have a practical value, over and above the aid which they furnish to correct and rapid reading.

From the point of view of philology the *ti*-distinction is of interest because the practice tended to preserve ancient orthography. For it is owing to the *ti*-distinction that Beneventan MSS. are so singularly free from barbarous spellings like *tercio*, *racio*, *leccio*. So thoroughly were the *ti* rules drilled into every scribe, that the frequent occurrence of *ci* for *ti* in a Beneventan MS. may safely be attributed to copying from a non-Beneventan exemplar.[2]

Thorough knowledge of scribal practice is indispensable when a text happens to depend upon a Beneventan MS. which is

[1] A very interesting example is furnished by the Munich MS. of the Monte Cassino Chronicle, which has marginal additions in the author's handwriting. See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 78.

[2] A case in point is the MS Monte Cassino 275 containing Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks*.

in a poor state of preservation. When in order to decipher the writing one is forced to count letter-spaces and give heed to the faintest trace of a letter, then only exact knowledge avails. The editor of Varro's *De lingua latina* or Tacitus' *Histories* is in such a position. He must accordingly be familiar with the rules for the assibilation of *ti*, and he must know that ꝕ was used for soft *ti* and ꝯ for hard *ti*, and that *ti* before a vowel does not always have the form ꝕ, as is commonly stated.

To know how the ligatures with enclitic *i* were used is important for the understanding of certain errors which have crept into our texts; it is also an aid in deciphering obliterated portions of Beneventan MSS. The ligature ꝙ has puzzled ancients as well as moderns. The German scribe who copied the Chronicle of Monte Cassino in Beneventan writing (Munich 4623) mistook the ligature for *q*. The ligature ꝙ with a stroke intersecting the *i* is the Beneventan way of abbreviating *eius*. The same form occurs in the MS. London Cotton Nero A II,[1] where a recent editor, unfamiliar with the ligature, took it for *ex*.[2] It is important to know that in Beneventan *f* and *i* form a ligature, but not *s* and *i*. The Beneventan ligature of *fi* (ﬁ) resembles the Insular ligature of *si*. This must of necessity have been a source of confusion to ancient scribes.[3] Monte Cassino 205, which shows by its abbreviations clear signs of having been copied from an Insular exemplar, has *confitus* for *consitus*. The Beneventan scribe manifestly mistook the Insular ligature. Our texts show that this type of error was common. The letters *l* and *i* combine but not *b* and *i*. In this matter the Beneventan scribe merely preserves ancient cursive tradition. The fact that *b* is not followed by enclitic *i* in

[1] Fol. 37 (35), last line. The MS. recalls Beneventan, but is of non-Italian origin.

[2] The mistake occurs, as I learn from Dom Wilmart, in *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan 1910) pp. 149 sqq. (in the running title) and p. 155. Earlier the same error was made in *A Catal. of Ancient MSS. in the Brit. Museum*, ii. 54, col. 2.

[3] Cf. Traube, *Textgeschichte d. Regula S. Benedicti* (2nd ed.) pp. 80 and 124.

cursive settles the disputed question as to whether *Karalis* or *Karabis* is the correct reading of the city mentioned in the celebrated subscription in the Hilary MS. preserved in the Chapter Library of St. Peter's (D 182). The ligature of *ri* (ꝛ) has been mistaken for an *r* with an abbreviation-stroke, and transcribed by *rum*. Trombelli misread it for *r*.[1] The *ti* ligature (ꝗ) was doubtless misunderstood by scribes unfamiliar with Beneventan and misread for *q* with a stroke over it.[2] The mistake which moderns have fallen into is that of transcribing it by means of *ci*. Inasmuch as the ligatures with enclitic *i* are obligatory and have fixed forms, knowledge of them is essential in deciphering faded writing, and is altogether a distinct aid in reading Beneventan MSS. in which the separation of words is imperfect. So, for example, we know that no word can end with the ligature ꝗ, for this form, representing as it does assibilated *ti*, must be followed by a vowel; we also know that enclitic *i* cannot begin a word, since this ligature can occur only within the limits of the same word.

The rules of *i*-longa are not without some importance for textual criticism. The resemblance between *i*-longa and the letter *l* has been the cause of their frequent confusion in ancient as well as in modern texts. A scribe to whom the practice of *i*-longa was foreign—and it was that to almost all scribes not Visigothic or Beneventan—could easily mistake

oblectat for *obiectat* (written obIectat)
malorum „ *maiorum* (maIorum)
alas „ *aias* (aIas).

Errors of this type throw some light on the archetype, for they go back, directly or indirectly, to an exemplar which must have used *i*-longa, i. e. to a MS. in Visigothic, Beneventan, or early pre-Caroline French or Italian minuscule.

That the *i*-longa rules may be an aid in deciphering can be illustrated by an example already cited elsewhere:[3]

[1] See above, p. 29, n. 2. [2] Traube, ibid., p. 80.
[3] Cf. *Stud. Pal.*, p. 13.

'In a passage in the *Historiae* of Tacitus (iv. 48. 10) editors have wavered between the readings *ius* and *uis*.[1] Its last editor, Andresen, gives: *legatorum ius adoleuit*. The Beneventan MS. upon which the text is based is hardly legible on that page, as the ink has grown very pale. But the two words are impossible to confuse in Beneventan, for *ius* must be written with *i*-longa and *uis* must begin with a short letter. The MS., even in its present state, shows plainly that the first letter was short, in which case the correct reading is *uis* and not *ius*—correct at least palaeographically.'[2]

Owing to phonetic reasons the substitution of *g* for *j* is a feature common to MSS. of different schools. Beneventan scribes frequently write *g* for semi-vocal *i*. They also often write *i*-longa (i. e. semi-vocal *i*) for soft *g*, e. g. *conIuIe*, *proIenuere*, *ambaIes*, &c. This type of error is apparently more frequent in scripts like the Beneventan (and Visigothic), in which semi-vocal *i* has a definite form.

The subject of the interrogation-sign has been treated at length above (pp. 236 sqq.). The feature that interests us here is the use of the suprascript reading sign. This was so general a practice as to merit being considered a rule of the script. There are plenty of exceptions; but the best scribes observe the practice carefully. It is so peculiarly Beneventan that its presence in a non-Beneventan MS. is a fair presumption of Beneventan influence, direct or indirect—in other words, it suggests at once either the *milieu* in which the MS. was copied or the precise character of the original.

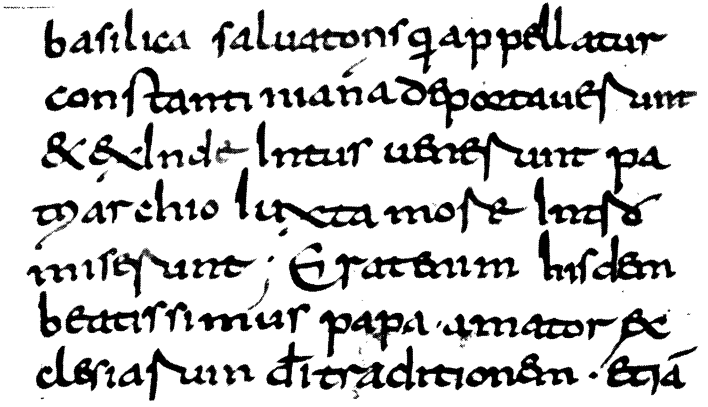
There is another use to which we can put the rules. We can make them our test as to whether or not a MS. is Beneventan. For there are a number of MSS. which are so like Beneventan products as to be easily mistaken for them when judged by the general impression, but which are clearly not Beneventan when tested by their observance of the rules. A

[1] Cf. Andresen, *In Taciti hist. studia crit. et pal.* ii (1900) 13.

[2] Cf. the Leyden reproduction of the MS. in the De Vries series: *Codd. Graec. et Lat. photographice depicti*, tom. vii. 2, fol. 94^{v}, col. 2, line 21.

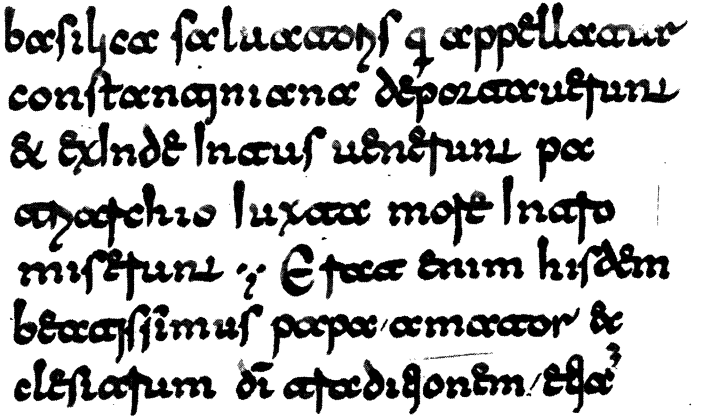
To face p. 312

Facsimile No. 14.



Turin, Archivio di Stato. Libri Pontificalis fragmentum.

Facsimile No. 15.



Beneventan Transcription.

(basilica saluatoris *qui* appellatur
constantiniana deportauerunt
et exinde intus uenerunt pa
triarchio iuxta more intro
miserunt. Erat enim hisdem
beatissimus papa amator ec
clesiarum *dei* traditionem, etia*m*)

case in point is furnished by the Turin fragments of the *Liber Pontificalis* reproduced in *Codici Bobbiesi* and described as Beneventan.[1] Some resemblance to Beneventan writing certainly exists, but the non-Beneventan character of the fragments becomes manifest as soon as they are confronted with a copy of the same matter written in accordance with the rules of Beneventan calligraphy.[2] For the purposes of illustration it will suffice to give a few lines of the Turin fragments on one side, and a Beneventan transcription on the other.[3] See facsimiles on plate ix.

[1] Cf. Cipolla, *Codici Bobbiesi* (Turin 1907) pl. 82, p. 178. The exact term used in the description is *longobardo-cassinese*, which is another name for Beneventan.

[2] That the letters *a* and *t* do not have the typical Beneventan forms is mentioned by Prof. Cipolla.

[3] The Beneventan characters used are those of the developed period.

CHAPTER XIII

DATING

THE dating of Beneventan MSS., it is generally admitted, presents peculiar difficulty because the script developed very gradually during its long life of five centuries, and the essential forms of the letters remained virtually unchanged throughout. The ability to date Beneventan MSS. with any degree of accuracy can, therefore, be gained only from a careful study of the dated monuments of the script. A comparison of the dated monuments shows that certain features—as punctuation, abbreviations, initials—had a distinct development, the different stages of which coincide with definite periods of time. A knowledge of these stages, therefore, is most important for us, since they furnish us with objective dating criteria. A full discussion of the material upon which the dating criteria are based will be found in the preceding chapters. Here it will suffice to repeat the main facts bearing on the subject of dating.

In dating Beneventan MSS. scholars have often disagreed by several centuries. Montfaucon (*Bibl. Bibl.* i. 217) assigns Monte Cassino 3 (Alcuin, &c.) to the 11th century. The same date is given by Thiele (*Antike Himmelsbilder*, p. 161). The Cassinese tradition (Caravita, Tosti, Piscicelli Taeggi) favours the year 812. This date has been accepted in our text-books (Reusens, *Éléments de pal.* p. 64, Thompson, *Handbook of Gr. and Lat. Pal.*, p. 220, and *Introd. to Gr. and Lat. Pal.*, p. 351). But Rodolico has correctly assigned the MS. to the end of the 9th century (*Archivio Stor. Ital.* xxvii (1901) 326). The precise date (874–92) is furnished by the paschal tables (Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, p. 8, and *Script. Benev.*, pl. 24). Vatic. lat. 1197 (Vitae SS.) is assigned

to the 9th century by B. Krusch (*Mon. Germ. Hist. Auctt. Antiq.* iv, pars 2, p. vii). The MS. has, however, on fol. xiii some verses in honour of Bp. Walter of Sulmona († A.D. 1104) which are almost contemporary. The editors of the *Nouveau Traité*, iii. 293, ascribe Rome Corsinian. 777 (Vitae SS.) to the 10th century. Internal evidence shows that it could not have been written before the 13th century (*Script. Benev.*, pl. 93). The 9th-century glossary Vatic. lat. 3320 (*Script. Benev.*, pl. 18) is assigned by P. de Nolhac to the 11th (*La Bibl. de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 242). For the divergent views expressed on the date of Vatic. lat. 3227 (Cicero) see M. Seibel, 'Wilhelm v. Christ zum 60. Geburtstag,' in *Abhandl. aus d. Gebiet d. klass. Altertums-Wiss.* (Munich 1891) p. 17. Many similar examples might be given. The heretical views put forth by A. Marignan with regard to the dates of many Beneventan MSS. (*Le moyen âge*, ser. ii, vol. xiv (1910) 1 sqq.) are not to be taken seriously.

In dating any MS., as Mabillon wisely taught, the general impression should be the first guide.[1] The next step is to confirm or correct that impression by an examination of details. In dating a Beneventan MS. it is important to ask if it originates in Monte Cassino or not. For the script of Monte Cassino is often half a century in advance of the writing produced in other centres. The development was more rapid at Monte Cassino and the decline set in sooner there than elsewhere in the Beneventan zone. Another consideration to be borne in mind is the nature of the MS. Liturgical books are usually written with great care and, contrasted with contemporary MSS. of profane contents and less careful penmanship, seem more recent than the latter. Experience teaches that it is impossible to be certain of the date of a MS. from a specimen of one or two pages, since contemporary hands occasionally show in the same MS. so marked a difference in

[1] Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, p. 241: 'Non ex sola scriptura, neque ex uno solo characterismo, sed ex omnibus simul de vetustis chartis pronuntiandum' (cited by Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhand.* i. 23).

style and skill as to seem several generations apart.[1] The colour of the ink is not a trustworthy criterion (see above, p. 286 sq.).

Although it is true that the essential forms of the letters remained constant, there were considerable minor variations from age to age, and this variation constitutes a very good criterion for dating, as may be seen from the facsimile specimens given in chapter vii. There is lack of uniformity and precision in the earliest period (saec. viii–ix). In the formative period (saec. x) there is still a good deal of freedom and swing in the descending strokes. In the mature period (saec. xi–xii) the script is extremely uniform, fine and heavy pen-strokes alternating with perfect regularity. The very angular appearance of the script belongs to the period of decline (saec. xiii). The letters are poorly made and the strokes fail to join properly. It should be noted that MSS. produced in the district of Bari and vicinity (including Dalmatia) are in a roundish type of writing which lacks the strong contrast of fine and heavy stroke. This makes MSS. of the Bari type[2] appear older than contemporary MSS. originating in centres like Monte Cassino, Benevento, or Naples. The size of the letters is no criterion. Single letters are, on the whole, dangerous guides,[3] the letter *r* excepted (see above, p. 137).

Next to the form of letters may be mentioned the form of the points used in punctuation. The two points and virgule (⁘), which combine to denote the main pause, are differently made in the different epochs of the script. Their use by first hand is a sign that the MS. is not older than the end of the 9th century. Especially characteristic is the form of the virgule. In MSS. of the end of the 9th and most of the 10th century it is a sinuous line made with a free swing. In MSS. of the mature period the virgule has more the form of our comma and the arrangement of points and virgule is more uniform and regular. In a number of MSS. of the 12th and 13th centuries

[1] A good example is Monte Cassino 103 saec. xi.

[2] See above, pp. 150 sqq.

[3] See description of letters *a* and *t* given above, pp. 133 and 138 sq.

the two points are often joined, forming a zigzag line. In some of them the head of the virgule is merged with the two points (see above, p. 233). The simple oblique stroke (/) marking the slightest pause is not found before the 11th century.

The presence of the interrogation-sign, if by the first hand, indicates that the MS. is not older than the end of the 9th century. The use of the interrogation-sign (other than ⁘) at the end of the question as well as over some word at the beginning of the question, argues that the MS. is not older than the 11th century (see above, pp. 244 sqq.).

The stroke over two consecutive *i*'s (*íí*) does not come in before the 11th century. The stroke over every *i* dates from the 13th (see above, p. 277).

The exclusive use of the acute accent, regardless of quantity, merely to mark stress, is not older than the 11th century (see above, p. 275 sq.).

The use of the hyphen at the end of a line to indicate division of a word dates from the 12th century (see above, p. 277 sq.).

Ruling with plummet is not found in MSS. anterior to the 12th century (see above, p. 293 sq.).

The style of initials is a trustworthy index of the age of a MS., provided the ornamentation is contemporary with the script (see above, p. 298 sq.).

Next to the script itself, the abbreviations are the most reliable objective criteria. As certain abbreviated forms do not come into use before a given period, their very presence in a MS. supplies a *terminus a quo*. No conclusion, however, can be drawn from their absence, since in the case of some MSS. (for instance, liturgical books used for reading aloud) scribes purposely refrained from using all the abbreviations they knew. The syllable *tur* was abbreviated differently in different periods. From the end of the 8th century to the middle of the 10th[1] MSS. use *t* with a horizontal stroke (t̄) or

[1] There are a few later examples.

flourish. From about the middle of the 10th to the first third of the 11th they use *t* with a comma (). In all later MSS. *tur* is expressed by means of *t* with a 2-shaped stroke () (see above, pp. 217 sqq.).

 = *eius* is not found before the end of the 9th century.[1]

ī = *in* comes into use in the 11th century.[2]

oīs, o͞i, &c. = *omnis*, *omni*, &c. do not antedate the 11th century.[3]

i͞g = *igitur*

o͞g = *ergo* } rarely occur before the 11th century.[4]

Abbreviation by means of suprascript letters (e.g. a͠c = *cra*, a͠g = *gra*, a͠p = *pra*, &c.) dates from the 11th century. It does not grow common before the end of the century. In the 13th century the number of such abbreviations is greatly increased.[5]

I have here enumerated the most striking examples. There are other, more delicate criteria, which do not permit of such simple formulation. Moreover, the criteria given above are not to be used mechanically. No date ought to be based on any single criterion alone. The date suggested by one criterion can be relied on only when it is not contradicted by other tests, especially by the test of the general impression.

Our concern being with one script, it is unnecessary to discuss here the aids furnished by internal evidence, which hold good for all kinds of writing. But attention should be called to one common error, namely, that of dating MSS. containing paschal tables by means of the first year in those tables.[6] The assumption which underlies such an error is that the tables begin with the actual year of writing. This is

[1] See above, p. 200. [2] See p. 205. [3] See p. 211 sq.
[4] See p. 203 sq. [5] See p. 174.
[6] Rodolico made this error when he assigned Monte Cassino 230 to the year 969 (*Archiv. Stor. Ital.* xxvii. 331, n. 1). See also Loew, *Die ältesten Kalendarien aus Monte Cassino*, p. 3.

rarely the case. In the great majority of MSS. paschal tables begin with a year which is the first of a 19-year cycle, the tables being arranged in blocks of 19 years. As their object was to tell the day on which Easter would fall, it was useless to copy tables for years gone by (unless the tables were intended for inserting annalistical entries). Accordingly the inference to be drawn from the tables is that the actual year of writing is contained in the first cycle of 19 years. But a date thus gained must not be accepted blindly. To be thoroughly acceptable it must be confirmed by the verdict of the script.

CHAPTER XIV

SCRIBES AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

FEW scribes have left us their names. Modesty may or may not account for this reticence. But judging from the quality of the penmanship which often goes with signed MSS., it would seem that only the better scribes signed. Perhaps it was not permitted to any but the master-scribes to indulge in a subscription. How else are we to explain the presence of only one signature in a MS. on which three scribes collaborated? Is it merely that one of the three was communicative? Or is it that the scribe who signed his name had the right and sanction to do so? Whatever be the true explanation, it is certainly a fact that MSS. destined for dedication copies, as for instance, Monte Cassino 99, written by Leo and presented by John, were usually executed by the best scribes available, and such copies most often mention the scribe. So the signature is in all probability a title of distinction. If this is true, then those names which have come down to us have gained in significance as being those of the leading copyists of their time and scriptorium; and we are but rewarding merit in handing them on to posterity.

If we are to take their own word for it, scribes did not enjoy their work. They are fond of telling us that their writing was not done merely with three fingers, but that eyes and neck felt the strain and the whole body was in pain:

> Tria digita scribunt
> sed totum corpus laborat.

And they vow that the last line is as welcome to them as land to the weary mariner. Although these are conventional

phrases, used by hundreds of scribes, they express a sentiment which doubtless has a goodly stratum of truth in it.

The following list contains all the scribes who have come to my notice. For Monte Cassino scribes I depend almost wholly upon Caravita,[1] whose patient and careful researches have been invaluable. No attempt is made to emend the subscriptions. I have confined myself to scribal subscriptions as opposed to editorial ones.[2] MSS. reproduced in *Scriptura Beneventana* are preceded by an asterisk.

1. **Aandoys** (?). In his subscription on p. 416 of Monte Cassino 81 saec. xi, containing St. Gregory's *Moralia* (books xxii–xxxv),[3] Aandoys uses the same formula that we find in two other Monte Cassino MSS. of the *Moralia* (Nos. *77 and 80) written by John and Stephen.[4]

> Explicit. iuuante domino. liber xxxv
> Hoc in libro constant uolumina
> Non plus xiii
> Papa a Gregorio
> Edita sanctissimo
> Hunc *Aandoys* (?) scribere decreuit. atque compleuit
> Quisquis quem tetigerit. Sit illi lota manus.
> Aperiat dominus lectori. per omnia sensum.
> Scriptori autem. perpetuum regnum. Amen.

In the 15th century the MS. belonged to the Monastery of S. Maria di Albaneta, about a mile from Monte Cassino.

2. **Antonius.** Monte Cassino 324 saec. xi in., containing

[1] Caravita, *I codici e le arti a Monte Cassino*, vol. ii (Monte Cassino 1870).

[2] The subject of editorial subscriptions has been treated by O. Jahn, F. Haase, and especially by Reifferscheid in his *De Latinorum codicum subscriptionibus* (Breslau 1872–3). For recent literature see Traube, *Vorles. u. Abhandl.* ii. 124. A dissertation on this subject is to appear in Traube's *Quellen u. Untersuchungen*. Beneventan MSS. containing such subscriptions are the Bamberg Cassiodorus (HJ IV 15), the Cassinese MS. with grammatical treatises (Paris lat. 7530), and the Laurentian Tacitus and Apuleius (68. 2), likewise from Monte Cassino.

[3] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 75; *Bibl. Casin.* ii. 301.

[4] See below, pp. 325 and 333.

Iulianus Toletanus' *Prognosticon*, was written in part by Antonius, who signs his name as follows:

ego autem fratres minumus omnium *antonius* pauca ex multa eius acta quae oculis meis uidi prout capere potui adiuuante domino scripsi. Ipso auxiliante qui cum patre cum sancto spiritu in unitate uiuit et regnat deus in secula seculorum.[1]

3. **Ascarus** of Carminiano. The huge volume of Haymo's Commentary on the Pauline Epistles, now *Naples VI B 3, was executed between 1145 and 1165, in Carminiano near Troja,[2] by the subdeacon Ascarus, who employed twenty years of his life upon the task, as we learn from the following subscription on fol. 219, written in capitals and enclosed in a decorated border:

HIC LIBER FINITUS
ATQUE SCRIPTUS EST
DIGITIS ASCARI
ECCLESIE SANCTI
LAURENCII IN CARMI
NIANO SUBDIACONI
ETAS CUIUS ANNOS
VIGINTI OCCUPABAT.

The exact date and hour when the MS. was begun we learn from a note at the foot of the first page:

Anno millesimo centesimo quadragesimo quinto, Mense februario, Indictione octaua, Die iouis, primo int(eruallo?) hic liber inceptus est, cuius sumptus petrus malum seruitium bone memorie in omnibus operibus ecclesie sancti laurentii in carminiano primus distributor extitit. In quo tempore domnus hismah(i)ele sacerdos ecclesiam procurabat.

4. **Autaris.** On the MS. of Prudentius, *Monte Cassino 374 saec. ix/x, two scribes collaborated, and the better one of the two signed his name in red uncials at the end of a book on p. 219.[3] But for some reason, perhaps out of professional

[1] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 87. [2] See above, p. 59.
[3] The page is reproduced in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 28.

jealousy, perhaps as a punishment, his name was erased. I make out the name to be Autaris:

EGO QUI SCRIPSI AUTARIS PECCATOR.

5. **Causus.** The MS. Monte Cassino 442 saec. xi contains the *Regula S. Benedicti*, with glosses and other matter. According to Caravita[1] the first part was written by the monk Causus, under whose portrait on fol. 80 we read:

Pro anima *Causi* monachi hec facta est. Omnis qui legitis Orate pro eum Causo monacho.

The book may have been written by another monk and only presented by Causus *pro anima sua.*

6. **Eustasius** of Benevento. The handsome MS. of the martyrology and St. Benedict's Rule, which now forms *Vatic. lat. 5949 saec. xii ex., was executed for the nuns of S. Sophia of Benevento by the scribe Eustasius, and decorated by a monk from Sipontum. On fol. 178 we see a seated figure at work on this very MS., with the page open at the words *Regulam sancti Benedicti.*[2] Over the figure is written *M. Sipontinus*, but the name is above an erasure. Another name had stood there, presumably that of Eustasius. In front of the seated figure is one standing. It wears the monk's hood, holds a cane in the left hand, and gives the benediction with the right. This figure had a name, but it has been utterly erased. If we examine the sixteen verses of the subscription which follows, the reason for the erasure may become plainer. For the verse in which the prior's name is given is also over an erasure. There may have been a change of priors. The scribe may first have inserted the name of the prior during whose time the main part of the book had been written, but desiring perhaps to please the new prior he made the change. From the way in which Eustasius calls himself an 'unsurpassed scribe' it may not be too bold to argue that his was the name written over the seated figure. The verses are as follows:

[1] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 57; G. Morin, *Reg. S. Bened. traditio*, &c., p. xv.

[2] The page is reproduced in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 89.

Omnis huius operis decor quem delectat,
Dum inspectat oculis manibus attrectat,
Aures eius monitis internas inflectat;
Lucra nam prudentibus maxima conuectat.
Tetras nam explicitum opus per auctores,
Praua queque resecat instruitque mores;
Mulcet uisum litteras nodos et colores,
Ingerens optutibus excellentiores.
Huius sacer edidit uerba benedictus,
Scriptor est *eustasius* scriptor indeuictus;
Is cuius imperio liber est conscriptus,
Prior monasterii Iohannes est dictus.
Sipontinus denique potens in sculturis,
Viuidis coloribus auro celaturis,
Decorauit uariis nodis et figuris,
Miris hunc efficiens mirum ligaturis.[1]

7. **Grimoaldus** of Monte Cassino. The beautiful folio volume of homilies, now *Monte Cassino 109, was written in the first half of the 11th century by Grimoald, who is in every respect the immediate precursor of the excellent Desiderian scribe Leo. On fol. 148, inside the circle of an initial letter *o*, are pictured the figures of Christ seated, with the Virgin on his right and St. Benedict on his left, and the monk Grimoald, volume in hand, being dedicated to Christ by the saint. Under the figure of the monk we read:

Grimoaldus diaconus et monachus scripsit.[2]

8. **Grimoaldus**. The MS. Rome Vallicell. D 36 saec. xii, containing the Acts of the Apostles, has on fol. 100 this subscription:

Sancte iohannes intercede pro anima *grimoaldi* scriptoris.

9. **Iaquintus** of Capua. The achievement of this scribe

[1] These verses have been edited, with many errors, by d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'art*, &c., iii., pl. 69, fig. 1 (Engl. ed., London 1847). Eustasius is mentioned by Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists*, &c. i. 316.

[2] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 76 sq.; *Bibl. Casin.* ii. 470; Piscicelli Taeggi, *Le miniature nei codici cassinesi*, pl. 1.

marks one of the milestones in Beneventan calligraphy. He worked in the abbey of St. Benedict of Capua while Aligern was its abbot (i. e. before the year 949). We know this from the inscriptions at the beginning and end of *Monte Cassino 269 containing the *Moralia* of St. Gregory. The following words, written in capitals of various colours, occur on the first page of the MS. :

INCIPIT	IN EXPOSI
TIONE BEA	TI IOB PARS
MORALIO	RVM QVAR
TA SANCTI	GREGORII
PAPAE VRBIS	ROMAE QVAE
IN LIBROS	SEX DISTIN
GVITVR	QVEM ALI
GERNVS VE	NERABILIS
BENEDICTI	MONASTERII
ABBAS IPSI	VS CENOBII
CAPVANI	FIERI PRE
CE	PIT.[1]

At the foot of the last page (351) this subscription is seen :

Qui libro legit in isto, oret pro *Iaquinto* sacerdote et monacho scriptore, ut deum habeat adiutorem.[2]

10. **Iohannes.** On p. 490 of *Monte Cassino 77 (saec. x, second half), which contains books xxviii–xxxv of St. Gregory's *Moralia*, we have the same subscription as in Monte Cassino 81, written by Aandoys,[3] except that in the third line *octo* is substituted for xiii, and in the sixth line *Iohannes* stands for *Aandoys*.[4]

11. **Iohannes.** In Monte Cassino 760 saec. xi, a volume of the Old Testament which ends with the book of Ruth, we read on fol. 219^{v} :

[1] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 34 sq.; *Bibl. Casin.* v, pars 1, p. 22 sq.
[2] Cf. Piscicelli Taeggi, *Pal. artistica*, &c., pl. 3. Bradley, l.c. ii. 143.
[3] See above, p. 321, under *Aandoys*.
[4] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 33; *Bibl. Casin.* ii. 293.

Explicit liber Ruth deo gratias dicite omnes. Amen. Rogo uos omnes christicole qui in hunc librum legite . . . Orate pro *Iohannes* indignus Sacerdos ad Dominum. Ut meis uestrisque peccaminibus indulgeat ipse. Qui uiuit et Regnat per secula cuncta. Amen.[1]

In the 13th century the MS. lay in the monastery of St. Benedict in Cesamo.

12. **Iohannes.** Monte Cassino 543 saec. xi, containing the Prophets, has on fol. 204 a subscription strikingly like the one in Monte Cassino 760 (see above, no. 11). Both MSS. are doubtless the work of one scribe.

Explicit malachias propheta. Deo gratias Amen. Rogo uos christicole qui in hunc librum legitis. Ut pro me *Iohannes* indignus famulus preces dirigatis ad dominum. Ut ille qui regit cuncta climata. Me et uos perducat ad regna etherea. Amen.[2]

The book belonged to the house of St. Benedict in Cesamo, as appears from the *ex libris* on fol. 1.

13. **Iohannes Capuanus.** The MS. *Cava 24, containing the Vitae SS. Patrum Cavensium, marks the last milestone in Beneventan calligraphy. Though written in 1295 it is still surprisingly free from the worst features of the period of decay. This is due to the excellence of the scribe, of whom we read on fol. 37, col. 2 as follows:

Huius scriptoris Capuani uita *Iohannis*,
Sit multis annis quem ditet celicus annis,
Qui monachus fidus, lucet quasi nobile sydus,
In christo nitidus uirtutum cui placet ydus.
Quod iussit fieri scrutatrix sedula ueri,
Plena dei donis abbatis cura leonis.
Cenobio felix clua abbas crimine mundus,
Et post in celis leo militet iste secundus.[3]

[1] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 86.

[2] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 86.

[3] There is a faulty transcription of this in Muratori, *Scriptt.* vi. 236, and in P. Guillaume, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Cava*, p. 180. In the penultimate line Guillaume reads incorrectly *elucet*.

On fol. 36, on the completion of the Vitae, the scribe expresses his feelings in the familiar verses:

Laus tibi sit christe
quoniam liber explicit iste.

14. **Iohannes Diaconus.** At the end of the third book of Isidore's *Sententiae* in *Vatic. Regin. lat. 1823 saec. ix, we read on fol. 118 as follows:

Ego *Iohannes* quamuis indignus
diaconus qui hoc codicem exara
uit omnes qui hunc librum
lecturi[1] estis oret pro me peccatorem si deum
habeatis protectorem.[2]

15. **Iohannes Diaconus** of Naples. The second part of the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, in the MS.* Vatic. lat. 5007 saec. x in., breaks off with the life of Athanasius (†872). Another hand begins with these words:

Hucusque *Iohannes* Diaconus.
Quę sequuntur Petrus edidit
Neapolitanę sedis subdiaconus.[3]

According to Waitz the MS. may be an autograph; which seems to me probable. Thus John and Peter may also be regarded as scribes.

16. **Iohannes Presbiter** of Troja. One of the scribes who worked on Monte Cassino 552 saec. xi, containing the Acts of the Apostles, gives his name on fol. 103 in a long and wordy

[1] Up to here the writing is in uncial. The rest is in minuscule.

[2] Facs. in *Script. Benev.*, pl. 17; Arevalo, *Isidoriana*, iv, cap. ci. 21 (Migne, *P. L.* 81, col. 849). Arevalo, à propos of this subscription, mentions several 10th-century instances of this name, and tries to identify our scribe with them, but this is impossible, since our MS. is assuredly of the 9th century; Arevalo, op. cit. iii, cap. lxxxv. 6 (Migne, *P. L.* 81, col. 626). But the subscription may not be original. The way the scribe spread his letters to write the word *exarauit* suggests that he was copying.

[3] See *Script. Benev.*, pl. 41, and *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS. Rer. Lang. et Ital.*, pp. 399 and 435.

subscription redeemed by the literary allusion : *e Troia aduena fuit et ille.* He came from Troja, a town east of Monte Cassino and north of Benevento. Cf. subscriptions 11 and 12.

Rogo uos omnes christicole qui in hunc librum legitis. ut oretis pro me ad dominum. Aut si minus siue plus inueneritis. Rogo uos omnes emendate illum. quia sicut nautes desiderat portum uidere. ita scriptor desiderat librum complere. Scriptoris si forte uelis cognoscere onoma. Presbyter uocitatur *iohannes.* et ipse indignus. E troia aduena fuit et ille. Hoc opus auxiliante deo perfecit et ipse. Ipsius ad laudem et sancti patris abbatis benedicti. Oro ne dominum cesses lector rogitare. Ut meis uestrisque peccaminibus indulgeat ipse. Qui sine fine regnat. In saecula eterna. Amen.[1]

17. **Iohannes Subdiaconus.** At the end of *De exitu Troianorum historia,* on fol. 20 of *Flor. Laurent. 66. 40 saec. ix ex., occurs the subscription :

EXPΛICIT
IOHANNES . SUBDIAC.
SCRIPSIT.[2]

The intrusion of a Greek letter or two in a colophon is a practice of which Irish and English scribes were particularly fond.[3]

18. **Iohannes Subdiaconus** of Monte Cassino. Three scribes collaborated on the MS *Monte Cassino 5 containing Ambrose on Luke. At the end of the volume, fol. 268, the last scribe has left us a long subscription with some particulars which date the MS. in the abbacy of Atenolf (1011–22) :

Prologus scriptoris :
Christe qui sedis summe in arce.
Iohannes subdiaconus qui tertia pars de me scripsit. christe parce eis delictis.
Ad omnes qui et legunt. christe parce eis in euum.

[1] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 58.

[2] Cf. Vitelli-Paoli, *Collezione Fiorentina,* fasc. i, pl. 3 ; Bandini, *Catal. Cod. lat. Bibl. Laur.* i, col. 812.

[3] The MS. shows other Insular symptoms (Traube, *Perrona Scottorum,* p. 496) and the subscription may have been copied from an Insular original.

Sicut qui nauigat desiderat portum. ita scriptor nouissimum uersum.

Qui nescit scribere. putat nullus esse laborem. Sed qui habet intentos oculos et inclinata ceruice.

Tria digita scribunt. sed totum corpus laborat.

Rogo uos omnes qui hic mellifluos flores carpitis, cum hic aliquid minus inueneritis non maledicta ingeratis sed ut ueniam tribuatis. Legentis. uitam. Scriptori. ueniam. Possidentis. salutem.[1]

After a short space there follow (p. 531) eighteen verses in honour of St. Benedict, of which I give only the opening and closing lines, which contain the facts that interest us here:

O benedicte pater, monachorum pastor, alumne.
Exiguum munus suscipe queso libens
Quod tibi nunc supplex *Atenolfus* optulit abbas
.
Et forsan satagis scriptoris nosse uocamen
Iohannes subdiaconus et monachus indignus peccator.

19. **Iohannes Vngarus.** The latter part of Monte Cassino 466 contains the Passion of St. Thomas of Canterbury in characters of the end of the 13th century. At the end of the *Passio* a later hand wrote in poor Beneventan letters—

Istum librum scripsit frater *Iohannes* Vngarus.

Caravita suggests that this may be the monk of that name who died in 1466.[2] The script is against such a supposition.

20. **Leo** of Monte Cassino. The prince of all Beneventan scribes was, as we should expect, a monk of Monte Cassino; and his performances fall in the period of Desiderius (1058–87), when the abbey was at the height of its glory. On the first page of *Monte Cassino 99, a beautiful volume of homilies, we have a picture of St. Benedict enthroned, Abbot Desiderius laying his arm about the priest John, who is holding the dedi-

[1] Cf. Caravita, op. cit. ii. 63 sq.; Reifferscheid, *Bibliotheca patrum lat. Ital.* ii (1872) 313.

[2] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 317.

cation volume, and the scribe Leo kneeling before the saint. John has just assumed the Benedictine habit, in honour of which event he is dedicating this volume to the patron saint. The dedication verses are:

Accipe dignanter quod fert pater alme. iohannes.
Munus. et aeterni sibi confer munera regni.
Supplicis ac uotis pius inde faueto *leonis*
Est studio cuius opus actum codicis huius.

The exact date of the MS. we learn from a note on the next page (fol. 1v):

Anno domenice incarnationis millesimo septuagesimo secundo. Indictione decima, &c.[1]

and

Huius scriptorem pie Christe *Leonem*
In libro uitae dignanter supplico scribe.

21. **Leo Ostiensis.** The author of the excellent Chronicle of Monte Cassino merits a place among the best scribes, to judge from the specimens of his writing which are still extant. The corrections, additions, and marginalia in *Munich 4623 (Chron. Casin.) are by Leo;[2] likewise the historical marginal entries in the calendar of *Vatic. Borgian. lat. 211, and the fine writing in Monte Cassino 413, containing the Life of St. Mennas.

22. **Madelbertos.** On p. 269 of Monte Cassino 439 saec. x, containing a glossary, Eucherius, canones, &c., the scribe wrote, half in Greek, half in Latin, what may be presumed to be his name:

MADEΛBEPTωC.[3]

The MS. probably comes from Apulia.

[1] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 150 sq.; *Bibl. Casin.* ii. 397 (gives older literature); Piscicelli Taeggi, *Le miniature*, &c. (unpaged), describes Monte Cassino 99 and reproduces some drawings.

[2] *Mon. Ger. Hist. SS.* vii, pl. iv; A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica, Denkmäler der Schreibkunst*, Ser. i, Lief. x, pl. 2.

[3] Cf. A. Amelli in *Spicileg. Casin.* i (1893) p. lxxxv and pl. 5.

23. **Maio Diaconus** of Spalato. In some fragments of a psalter now preserved in the Archiepiscopal library of Agram occurs the subscription which tells us that the volume was executed by Maio at the order of Archbishop Paul (1015–30):

Arbiter eterne, solus mirum qui fincxerat globum, iube hunc uolumen tuo sacro sereno aspicere uultu, quod pro suam adque suis debita obtulit domno Paulus uenerabilis archiepiscopus, hoc librum psalmorum ad laudem sanctorum martirum, Domnii, Anastasi atque sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani. Sed et uos quoque, studiosi lectores, obnixe precamur, ut cuique manu uenerit, in uestris precibus me commemoretis. Rex regum dicite cuncti, christe deus, abde ei scelus. Me simul infimus diacono *Maioni* scriptore, ut et uos deum habeatis adiutorem et in euum feliciter letetis.[1]

24. **Martinus** of Monte Cassino. In the year 1010 Martin wrote the folio volume of the Lives of the Saints, now *Monte Cassino 148, as we learn from the subscription on fol. 253:

Hunc librum scriptum anno domi
nice incarnationis millesimo. x
Indictione octaba. feliciter.

Martinus peccator et scriptor libri
huius habebit in conuersione
monachorum annos iii.[2]

25. **Paulus Diaconus.** Monte Cassino 349 saec. xi in., containing the Acts, Apocalypse, and Epistles, was written in part by Paulus Diaconus. The verses on p. 292, which I take to be the scribe's, conclude with the words:

Scriptoris si forte uellis cognoscere nomen
Paulus diaconus uocitatur et ipse monachus.
Hoc opus auxiliante deo perfecit et ille.
Ipsius ad laudem et sancti archangeli michaelis.
Oro ne dominum cesses lector rogitare,
Gratum ut accipiat scriptoris uotum et ipse. Deo gratias.
Alius incepit ego finibi.[3]

[1] Cf. Rački, *Starine Jugoslavenske Akademije*, vii (1875) 47 sqq.; facs. pl. 2.
[2] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 63; *Bibl. Casin.* iii. 306.
[3] Tosti, *Storia della badia*, &c., i. 104; Caravita, op. cit. ii. 49.

The MS. probably came from the monastery of St. Michael near Monte Cassino.

26. **Petrus Diaconus** of Naples. Petrus belongs to our list of scribes if we are right in regarding the end of the *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum* (*Vatic. lat. 5007) as autograph (see above, p. 327, under *Iohannes Diaconus* of Naples).

27. **Savinus** of Albaneta. The abbey of Saint Mary of Albaneta, near Monte Cassino, was founded by Liutius.[1] While Liutius was prior of it (1025–55) Savinus wrote the homilies and other tracts which form the MS. *Monte Cassino 305. At the end, on p. 686, we read the subscription proper, the dedication, and the usual imprecation :

DEO GRATIAS. Ceptum est. et perfectum est.
Ego frater *Sauinus* scripsi.
Omnes qui legitis, Rogo uos orate pro me peccatore.
Etherii rutilant. hic regis dogmata clara.
Faustas que mentes semper ad astra ferunt.
Hec uia christigeros deducit ad atria uite.
Hec celum pandens cordis opaca fugat.
O ueneranda . . .
Hoc sacrum munus suscipe queso placens.
Quod mente fideli optulimus nos tibi.
Liutius PRIOR et *Sauinus* scriptor atque monachus iure.
Vinclis huic anathematis innodauit in euum.
Hunc librum istinc qui demere temptauerit.
Obsitus atque tue metuende molitus ire.
Ultima iudicia pro hoc tibi soluat ait.
Redde uicem se . . . idus opimum.
Leti percipiat gaudia summa dei.[2]

We further learn that the MS. was bound in the 13th century by Galterius :

Ego frater *Galterius* relegaui istum librum. Rogo ut omnes qui legitis orate pro me.[3]

[1] Cf. Leo Ostiensis, *Chron. Casin.* ii. 30. For further literature see *Bibl. Casin.* v, pars 1, p. 78.

[2] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 73; *Bibl. Casin.* v, pars 1, p. 78.

[3] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 69.

28. **Stephanus.** Monte Cassino 80 saec. xi, containing St. Gregory's *Moralia*, books xxii–xxxv, was written by Stephen, whose subscription is the same as that in *Monte Cassino 77 and 81, the only change being in the division of the lines.[1] See above, pp. 321 and 325, under *Aandoys* and *Iohannes*.

29. **Symeon.** The well-known Register of St. Angelo in Formis near Capua was in all probability the work of Symeon. At the end of the volume (*Monte Cassino Regesto 4 a. 1137–66), on a page originally left blank, we read:

> Ego frater *symeon* diaconus et monachus scriptorque.[2]

Caravita conjectures that he is also the miniator and illuminator of the volume.

30. **Turbonus.** Monte Cassino 23 saec. xi in., containing St. Augustine's Commentary on John, has on p. 121 the following subscription, which doubtless discloses the name of the scribe:

> Rex deus immense: quo constat machina mundi
> Infelix ego quicquid posco: perfice clemens.
> Ab hoc precor. quicumque frater legens
> istum percurrerit librum
> Praecando dicite. deus coeli dele cuncta *Turboni*
> indigni diaconi et monachi facinora
> Ac clementer cunctis da peccatis suis ueniam
> Et in coelis mansionem pariter cum omnibus sanctis. Amen.[3]

[1] John has twelve lines from *Hoc in libro* to *perpetuum regnum*. Stephen puts them into six. Cf. Caravita, op. cit. ii. 52; *Bibl. Casin.* ii. 299.

[2] Caravita, op. cit. i. 302 sq. and ii. 11.

[3] Caravita, op. cit. ii. 52.

APPENDIX

HAND LIST OF BENEVENTAN MSS.

NOTE.—*Italics are used when the portion of the MS. written in Beneventan is insignificant or fragmentary.*

The date assigned to a MS. is an approximate one. In this list saec. xi^{1} *= first half of the* 11*th century, saec. xi*^{2} *= second half; saec. xi in. = the period between* 1000 *and* 1030, *saec. xi ex. = the period between* 1070 *and* 1100; *saec. xi/xii = circa* 1100.

* *The asterisk denotes that the MS. is reproduced in 'Scriptura Beneventana'.*

ABERDEEN.

King's College C^{2} **3. 63.** Written partly in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii in. (Augustinus, De doctrina Christiana), partly in contemporary Beneventan (Beda in Cantica Canticorum).

AGRAM.

Archiepiscopal Library. Psalterium (*s.n.*). The last nine leaves are in Beneventan, a. 1015–30. See p. 63.

AREZZO.

Fraternità di S. Maria VI 3. Composed of two MSS., saec. xi^{2}:
(i) foll. 1–15. Hilarius, Liber mysteriorum et hymnorum.
(ii) foll. 16–37. 'Peregrinatio Silviae.' See p. 70.

ASSISI.

S. Francesco Sacro Convento A 258. Palimpsest. Primary script is Beneventan, saec. x/xi; upper script (Sedulius, Liber Paschalis) is saec. xi ex. (according to Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii. 540).

BAMBERG.

Königliche Bibliothek.

B V 19 (Patr. 101). *Patristica. Written in ordinary minuscule. Four lines of Beneventan writing, saec. x, on the fly-leaf.*

BAMBERG (*cont.*).

Königliche Bibliothek.

***E III 4 (Hist. 6).** Saec. ix/x. Victor Vitensis, Hist. persecutionis Wandalicae (foll. 1–88, in ordinary minuscule); Paulus Diaconus, Hist. Romana (foll. 89–194^{r} are in Beneventan, foll. 194^{v}–248, in ordinary minuscule).

***HJ IV 15 (Patr. 61).** Saec. viii ex. Cassiodorus, Institutiones; Gregor. Turon., De cursu stellarum; Isidorus, De natura rerum, &c.

***P III 20 (Can. 1).** Saec. x in. Auxilius et Eugenius Vulgarius, De Formosiana calamitate.

BARI.

Archivio del Duomo. Two rolls in Beneventan writing:

(i) *Exultet Roll (8 pieces) and Benedictio fontis, &c. (4 pieces), saec. xi^{1} (ante a. 1067).

(ii) Exultet Roll, saec. xii, ut vid. See pp. 67 and 151.

BENEVENTO.

Biblioteca Capitolare.

III 1. Saec. xi/xii. Vitae Sanctorum.

III 2. Saec. xi/xii. Vitae SS.

III 3. Saec. xi/xii. Vitae SS.

III 4. Saec. xi/xii. Lectionarium.

III 5. Saec. xi/xii. Lectionarium.

III 6. Saec. xi. Lectionarium.

III 7. Saec. xi/xii. Lectionarium.

III 8. Saec. x/xii. Lectionarium (ab Epiph. usque ad Domin. Palm.).

*III 9. Saec. ix in. Ambrosius Autpertus, Speculum parvulorum, seu Expos. libri Apocal.

IV 10. Saec. x/xi. Lectionarium.

IV 11. Saec. x/xi. Lectionarium.

IV 12. Saec. xi/xii. Lectionarium (pro Domin. et feriis Quadragesimae).

IV 13. Saec. x/xi. Lectionarium.

IV 14. Saec. x/xi. Libri Regum, Parabol., Eccles., Cantica Cantic., Sapient., et Vitae SS.

IV 15. Saec. x/xi. Gregorius M., Moralia in Iob.

IV 16. Saec. xii/xiii. Gregor. M. in Ezechielem.

IV 17. Saec. xii. Ambrosius in Symbolum Apostolicum.

BENEVENTO (*cont.*).

Biblioteca Capitolare.

IV 18. Saec. xi. Lectionarium (in festiv. per annum).

V 19. Saec. xii. Breviarium (a festo S. Nicolai usque ad fer. iv Hebd. iv Quadrages.). An imperfect 'Liber typicus' or 'Correctorium'.

V 20. Saec. xii. Breviarium (a fer. iii post Pasch. usque ad festum SS. Cosmae et Damiani). An imperfect 'Liber typicus'.

V 21. Saec. xii/xiii. Antiphonarium monasticum (a fer. vi Hebd. i Advent. usque ad mensem Decemb.).

V 22. Saec. xii. Breviarium monasticum (a Sabb. ante Advent. usque ad coenam Domini).

V 23. Saec. xiii. Breviarium monasticum (ante Domin. ii Advent. usque ad Sabb. sanct.).

V 25. Saec. xii. Breviarium monasticum.

V 26 Saec. xii in. Martyrolog., Regula S. Benedicti, et Homiliae.

V 27. Saec. xiii. Breviarium.

VI 29. Saec. xii. Missale et Kalendarium.

VI 30. Saec. xiii. Missale (a Domin. ii post Epiph. usque ad fest. Omnium SS.).

VI 31. Saec. xi/xii. Evangeliarium (a Domin. iii Advent. ad fer. iv maioris hebdomadae).

VI 33. Saec. x/xi. Missale.

VI 34. Saec. xi/xii. Troparium.

VI 35. Saec. xii. Troparium.

VI 36. Saec. x/xi. Sententiae PP. et Homiliae.

VI 37. Saec. xi ex. Hymni, Martyrol., et Regula S. Benedicti.

VI 38. Saec. xi. Troparium.

VI 39. Saec. xi. Troparium.

VI 40. Saec. xi. Troparium.

VII 42. Saec. xii. Breviarium.

VII 44. Saec. xiii in. Lectiones et Orationes.

Armadio mobile I. Ordo officii. Saec. xii.

Armadio mobile II. Necrologium Confrat. Collegiatae Eccl. S. Spiritus. Saec. xii ex. (post a. 1183).

BERLIN.

Königliche Bibliothek.

Theol. Quart. 278. Saec. xi ex. Evangeliarium. See pp. 63, 77, and 151.

Hamilton 3. Saec. xii. Acta Apostolorum, Epistolae, Apocal.

BISCEGLIE.

Archivio del Duomo. Evangeliarium (*s. n.*). Saec. xi ex. See p. 69.

BOLOGNA.

Bibl. Universit. 2843 (S. Salvatore 486). a. 1070. Amatus monachus Casinensis, Versus in honorem Petri et Pauli Apost. See pp. 30 and 70.

CAPUA.

Archivio del Duomo. Exultet Roll. Saec. xi. See p. 69.

Seminario Arcivescovile.

Epistolae et Actus Apost. (*s. n.*). Saec. xi. See p. 151.

Augustinus in Iohannem (*s. n.*). Saec. xi. See p. 151.

CATTARO.

S. Chiara. Pontificalis fragm. cum notis. Saec. xii. See pp. 63 and 151.

CAVA (LA).

Archivio della Badia di Santissima Trinità.

*2. a. 779–97. Isidorus, Etymologiae; Kalendarium, Tabulae paschales, &c. See p. 70.

3. Saec. xi ex. Beda, De temporibus; Kalendarium, Annales Cavenses. See p. 69.

4. Saec. xi in. Leges Langobardorum. See p. 67.

5. Saec. xii. Lectiones, Hymni et Officia Sanctorum.

6. Saec. xi/xii. Gregorius M., Regula Pastoralis. Partly in Beneventan, partly in ordinary minuscule. See p. 151.

7. Saec. xi/xii. Gregor. M., Moralia in Iob; Hieronym., Expos. in Sacram Scripturam. Partly in Beneventan, partly in ordinary minuscule.

8. Saec. xi/xii. Gregor. M., Moralia in Iob.

10. Saec. xi/xii. Gregor. M., Moralia in Iob.

12. Saec. xi/xii. Ambrosius, Expos. in Evangelia.

CAVA (LA) (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia di Santissima Trinità.

*18. Saec. xiii in. (c. a. 1227). Benedictus Barensis, De septem sigillis. See p. 69.

*19. a. 1280. Evangelia, Apocal., Regula S. Bened. et Kalendarium. See p. 69.

*24. a. 1295. Hugo Venusinus, Vitae Patrum Cavensium. See p. 69.

Miscellanea. Collection of leaves in Beneventan writing, used for strengthening the binding of MSS. 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 29.

CHANTILLY.

Musée Condé. Necrologii Ragusani fragm. (4 foll.). Saec. xiii ex. See pp. 64 and 74.

CHELTENHAM.

Phillipps Collection, MS. 3069. Saec. xii. Beda in Epist. Canonicas.

CHIETI.

Bibl. Capitolare 2. *Gregorius M., Dialogi. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi. Foll. i–ii, fly-leaves (part of a Graduale), are in Beneventan, saec. xi.*

COPENHAGEN.

Old Royal Collection 1653. Saec. xi ex. Soranus (Muscio), Hippocrates, Oribasius, &c. See p. 19.

ESCORIAL.

Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo.

L III 19. Saec. xii. Collectio Canonum.

M II 16. *Martial, in 15th-century writing. Initial and final fly-leaves (biblica) are in Beneventan, saec. xii.*

Z III 19. Saec. xi ex. Collectio Canonum.

ETON.

College Library, Bl. 6. 5. Saec. xi. Theodotus, Ecloga; Maximianus, Elogiae VI; Statius, Achilleis; Ovid, Remedia amoris, Epistulae (Heroides); Arator, Historia Apostolorum. See p. 152.

FLORENCE.

Biblioteca Laurenziana.

16. 37. Saec. xi/xii. Psalterium.

29. 2. Saec. xiii. Apuleius. See p. 70.

51. 10. Saec. xi ex. Varro, De lingua latina; Cicero, Orationes; Auctor ad Herennium. See p. 70.

66. 1. Saec. xi in. Hegesippus. See p. 71.

66. 21. Saec. xi ex. Iustinus, Epitome historiarum Pompei Trogi. See p. 71.

*66. 40. Saec. ix ex. Exordia Scythica; Dares Phrygius, De excidio Troiae; Historia Apollonii regis Tyri; Versus Cellani abbatis, &c.

68. 2. Saec. xi med. Tacitus, Historiae (i–v), Annales (xi–xvi); Apuleius, Metamorphoses and Florida. See p. 71.

68. 6. Saec. xii/xiii. Caesar, Commentarii.

*73. 41. Saec. ix in. Antonius Musa, De herba betonica; ps.-Apuleius, Herbarium; ps.-Dioscorides, De herbis femininis, &c. See p. 18.

Ashburnham 55. Saec. x ex. Vitae Sanctorum.

San Marco 604. Saec. xi in. Liber Pontificalis; Hieron., De viris illustr.; August., De haeresibus; Cassiodor., Instit.; Decretum Gelasianum, and a list of Neapolitan bishops (foll. 1–5). See p. 73.

GAETA.

Archivio del Duomo. Three Exultet Rolls: (i) saec. xi, in the original part; (ii) saec. xi; (iii) saec. xi/xii, to judge from the miniatures. See p. 69.

GLASGOW.

University, Hunter. MS. v 3. 2. Saec. x in. Hippocrates, Galen, &c. See p. 19.

GÖTTINGEN.

Universitätsbibliothek. *Fragments of a Passio, in Beneventan writing, saec. xi/xii. From the binding of the incunabulum (Hain 15019) of the 'Statuta Romana' bearing the press-mark 'Ius. Stat. viii. 2230'.*

LAUSANNE.

Archives de Lausanne, Musée d'Historiographie Vaudoise. *One leaf from a Missale plenum in Beneventan writing, saec. xi. Ten fragments from the same MS. are in Zürich, Staats-Archiv. See below.*

LEIPSIC.

Universitätsbibl. 3503 (Hänel 6). Saec. xi. Isidorus, Etymologiae, lib. v ; Iulianus, Epitome latina Novellarum Iustiniani.

LEYDEN.

Bibliotheca Publica Univ. 118. Saec. xi ex. Cicero, De natura deorum, De divinatione, De legibus. See p. 50, n. 5. The MS. should have been mentioned in the list on p. 71.

LONDON.

British Museum.

Arundel 234. *Sallust. Written in ordinary minuscule. One fly-leaf is in Beneventan, saec. xii in.: Amandi Vigiliensis episcopi Epistola de reliquiis S. Pantaleonis, &c.*

Egerton 2889. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS. See p. 151.

***Add. MS. 5463.** *Evangelia in uncial, saec. viii. Additions and corrections in Beneventan, saec. x, passim, e.g. foll.* 5, 5^{v}, 88^{v}, 222, 229. *See p.* 75.

Add. MS. 11916. Saec. xi ex. Auctor ad Herennium. Foll. 33^{v}–40^{v} are in Beneventan, the rest in ordinary minuscule.

Add. MS. 16413. Saec. xi in. Varia theologica et patristica, Excerpta ex Canonibus.

Add. MS. 18859. Saec. xii. Psalterium, with canticles, prayers, &c. Cf. Paris Mazar. 364.

Add. MS. 23776. Saec. xii. Martyrologium. See p. 67.

Add. 28106 (*vol. ii*). *Bible, written in ordinary minuscule; initial and final fly-leaves are in Beneventan, saec. xi/xii* (*Leo Ostiensis, Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*). *See Paris Nouv. Acq. lat.* 2199, *fol.* 17.

Add. MS. 30337. Saec. xi ex. Exultet Roll. See p. 71.

Collection of H. Yates Thompson, MS. 8. Saec. xi/xii. Martyrologium, Regula S. Benedicti, &c. See p. 75.

LYONS.

Bibl. de la Ville 788 (706). *A collection of fragments. Foll.* 23–6 (*Donatus Minor*) *are in Beneventan, saec. x/xi.*

MACERATA.

Bibl. Comunale. Pontificale (*s. n.*). Saec. xii in. See p. 67.

MADRID.

Bibl. Nacional.

A 151. Composed of three patristic MSS., written in ordinary minuscule, except foll. 161–84, which are in Beneventan, saec. xi/xii, ut vid.

(i) foll. 2–67. Isidorus and Canones.

(ii) foll. 68–120. Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis.

(iii) foll. 121–84. Isidorus, De ortu et obitu Patrum, De officiis, &c.; Alcuin, De Trinitate; ps.-Ambros., De conflictu vitiorum, &c.; ps.-Augustinus, De fide sanctae trinitatis (in Beneventan), et alia.

B 3. Saec. x. Homiliarium.

D 117. Saec. xi, ut vid. Leges Langobardorum.

MANCHESTER.

John Rylands Library, MS. 2. Saec. xi in. Exultet Roll.

MILAN.

Bibl. Ambrosiana C 90 inf. Saec. xi ex. Seneca, Dialogi. See p. 71.

MIRABELLA ECLANO.

Archivio della Chiesa Collegiata. Exultet Roll. Saec. xi, ut vid. See p. 69.

MONTE CASSINO.[1]

Archivio della Badia.

1. Saec. xi. Canones, Epist. decretales.

*3. a. 874–92. Alcuin, De Trinitate; Computi ecclesiastici, Tabulae paschales, Annales, &c.

4. *Saec. ix in. Ambrosius, Contra Arianos. Written in Visigothic. An 11th-century Beneventan hand transcribed Visigothic marginalia in cursive.*

*5. a. 1011–22. Ambrosius, Expos. in Lucam.

6. Saec. xi ex. (probably a. 1058–87, the period of Abbot Desiderius). Anastasius bibliothecarius, Historia Tripartita.

[1] In the case of Monte Cassino, no regard has been paid to MSS. that have only fly-leaves in Beneventan writing.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

11. Saec. xi ex. Augustinus, Homiliae, Sermones.
12. Saec. xi ex. Augustinus, Sermones.
13. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Eugippius, Excerpta ex operibus Augustini.
14. Saec. xi. Augustinus, De Civitate Dei.
15. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Augustinus contra Faustum et Felicem.
16. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Augustinus, Epistolae.
17. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Augustinus, Sermones.
20. Saec. xi. Augustinus, De Consensu Evangelistarum.
21. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Tractatus in Iohannem.
22. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Tractatus in Iohannem (continuation of the preceding MS.).
23. Saec. xi in. Augustinus, Tractatus in Epistolam Iohannis; pp. 108–20 are saec. xi ex.
24. Saec. xi. Augustinus, Enarrationes in Psalmos et Tract. in Epist. Iohannis.
25. Saec. xi in. Augustinus, Confessiones.
26. Saec. xi ex. Augustinus, Enarrat. in Psalmos.
27. Saec. xi ex. Augustinus, Enarrat. in Psalmos (continuation of the preceding MS.).
*28. Circa a. 1023. Augustinus, De Civitate Dei.
37. Saec. xi in. Beda, Expos. in Lucam et alia.
38. Saec. xi in. Beda, Expos. in Acta Apostol. et Apocal.
40. Saec. xi in. (probably a. 1022–35, the period of Abbot Theobald). Beda, Expos. in Marcum.
42. Saec. xi in. Beda, Expos. in Cantica Canticorum.
*47. a. 1159–73. Martyrologium, Regula S. Benedicti, Necrologium, Annales, &c.
48. Saec. xi in. Claudius ep., Expos. in Epistolas Pauli.
50. Saec. xi ex. Collationes PP.; Palladius, Historia Lausiaca; Athanasius, De observatione Monachorum.
51. Saec. xi^1. Cassianus, Collationes. See p. 75.
52. Saec. xi. Cassianus, Collationes et alia. See p. 75.
53. Saec. xi. Cassianus, Collationes.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

54. Saec. xiex. (probably Desiderian). Cassianus, Collationes.

*57. Circa a. 1023. Comment. in Psalmos ex Augustino et Hieronymo.

*69. Saec. ix ex. Varia medica.

71. Saec. xi med. Registrum Epistolarum Gregorii M.

*73. a. 1022–35. Gregorius M., Moralia.

74. Saec. xi med. Gregorius M., Moralia. See p. 75.

75. Saec. xi (probably Desiderian). Gregorius M., Moralia.

76. Saec. x^2. Gregorius M., Moralia.

*77. Saec. x^2. Gregorius M., Moralia.

78. Saec. x. Gregorius M., Moralia.

79. Saec. xi med. Gregorius M., Moralia.

80. Saec. xi med. Gregorius M., Moralia.

81. Saec. xi med. Gregorius M., Moralia. See p. 75.

82. Saec. x/xi. Gregorius M., Moralia.

83. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Gregorius M., Homiliae XL.

84. Saec. xi ex. Gregorius M., Homiliae in Ezechielem.

85. Saec. xii/xiii. Gregorius M., Dialogi.

86. Saec. xi^1. Gregorius M., Moralia.

90. Saec. xi. Auxilius presb., Etymologicon.

91. Saec. xi med. Hieronymus, Epistolae.

94. Saec. xi^2. Hieronymus, Comment. in Isaiam.

95. Saec. xi^1. Eusebius (Rufinus), Historia Ecclesiastica.

*97. Saec. x in. Varia medica.

98. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

*99. a. 1072 (Desiderian). Lectionarium.

100. Saec. xi in. Homiliarium.

101. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

102. Saec. xi in. Homiliarium.

103. Saec. xi in. Homiliarium. See p. 75.

104. a. 1022–35. Homiliarium.

105. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

106. Homiliarium. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–64, saec. xi^2.
(ii) pp. 65–800, saec. xi in. (probably a. 1022–35).

107. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

108. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

*109. a. 1022–35. Homiliarium (continuation of MS. 104).

110. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Lectiones, Homiliae, et Vitae SS.

111. Homiliarium. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–396, saec. xi^1.
(ii) pp. 397–409, saec. xi ex.

112. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

113. Saec. xi ante med. Homiliarium.

114. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

115. Saec. xii/xiii. Homiliarium.

116. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Homiliarium.

*123. Composed of different parts:
*(i) pp. 1–192, saec. x^2. Josephus, De bello Iudaico.
(ii) pp. 193–240, saec. xi^2.
(iii) pp. 241–54, saec. xi^2.
(iv) pp. 255–70, saec. xi ex.
(v) pp. 271–320, saec. xi/xii, in ordinary minuscule.
} Vitae SS., Sermones Patrum, &c.

124. Saec. xi^1. Josephus, Antiquitates Iudaicae.

125. Saec. xi^1. Collectio Canonum.

126. Saec. xi^2. Sermones Leonis Magni et aliorum.

127. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Missale. See p. 75.

*132. Saec. xi in. (ante a. 1023). Hrabanus Maurus, De origine rerum.

133. Saec. xi^2. Hrabanus Maurus, Comment. in libros Regum.

139. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.

140. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.

141. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.

142. Saec. xi^2. Vitae SS.

143. Saec. xi med. Vitae PP. Anachoretarum et alia.

144. Saec. xi^2. Vitae SS.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

145. Saec. xi^2. Vitae SS.

146. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.

147. Saec. xi^2. Vitae SS. et Homiliae.

*148. a. 1010. Vitae SS.

149. Saec. xi^2. Vitae SS.

152. Vitae SS. et alia. Composed of three parts:
(i) foll. 1–33, Gothic script, saec. xv.
(ii) foll. 34–79, saec. xi^1.
(iii) foll. 80–102, saec. xi^2.

153. Saec. xii. Amalarius Fortunatus, De divinis Officiis.

154. Saec. xi^2. Ambrosius, Expos. in Psalmum *Beati immaculati.*

162. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Opera.

163. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Opera.

164. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Contra Iulianum.

165. Saec. xii^2. Augustinus, Opera.

166. Saec. xii^2. Augustinus, Opera. By the same scribe as MS. 165.

167. Saec. xii^2. Augustinus, Opera. By the same scribe as MS. 165.

168. Saec xi^2. Augustinus, Opera.

169. Augustinus, Opera. Composed of two parts:
(i) pp. 1–129, saec. xi^1. De vera religione.
(ii) pp. 130–208, saec. xi in. De disciplina Christiana.

170. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Opera.

171. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Contra Academicos.

172. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, De baptismo contra Donatistas.

173. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, De symbolo, De quinque haeresibus, De reconciliandis paenitentibus.

*175. a. 915–34. Paulus Diaconus, Comment. in Regulam S. Benedicti. See p. 69.

177. Saec. xii^1. Beda, Historia gentis Anglorum.

178. Saec. xi^2. Beda [Florus], Collectaneum in Epistolas Pauli ex operibus Augustini.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

179. Saec. xi[1]. Martyrologium, Emortuale, Regula S. Benedicti, et alia. See p. 75.

180. Saec. xi[2]. Beda, Expos. in septem Canonicas Epistolas.

181. Saec. xi[1]. Beda, Historia gentis Anglorum. Probably the original of MS. 177.

*187. Saec. ix[2]. Iulianus Toletanus, Anticimenon de quaestionibus Veteris et Novi Testamenti.

189. Saec. xi. Boethius, Institutio Arithmetica.

191. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–128, saec. xi med. Evangeliarium.
(ii) pp. 129–200, in ordinary minuscule and Beneventan, saec. xi. Boethius, De differentiis topicis. See p. 75.

194. Saec. xi ex. Bruno ep. Signiensis, Homiliae in Evangelia totius anni.

195. Saec. xi ex. Bruno ep. Signiensis, Expos. in Levit., Numer., et Deuteronomium.

196. Saec. xii. Bruno ep. Signiensis, Sermones et Sententiae.

198. Saec. xii/xiii. Breviarium. See p. 75.

199. Saec. xii ut vid. Breviarium. Lost since May, 1779.

204. Saec. xi med. Cyprianus, Epistolae, et alia.

205. Saec. xi. Collectio glossae Novi et Veteris Testamenti.

211. Saec. xi ex. Evangelia.

214. Defensor, Liber Scintillarum. Saec. xi (pp. 9–20, in Beneventan; the rest in ordinary minuscule, saec. xiii).

216. Saec. xii ex. Canonum Epitome.

217. Saec. xi[2]. Glossarium et alia.

*218. a. 909. Glossarium.

220. Didymus, De Spiritu Sancto. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–75, in ordinary minuscule, saec. xiii.
(ii) pp. 75–149, in Beneventan, saec. xii.

221. Saec. xi med. ps.-Dionysius Areopagita (Ioh. Scottus), Caelestis Hierarchia, &c.

225. Saec. xi ex. Varia medica.

226. Saec. xi in. Collectio patristica (SS. Ephraem, Basilius, Prosper, Iulianus Pomerius, et alii).

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

229. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Evangeliarium.

***230.** a. 969–87. Varia patristica, Computi ecclesiastici, Kalendarium, &c. Written partly in Beneventan, partly in ordinary minuscule. See pp. 69, 88 sqq.

234. Saec. xi[1]. Ioh. Diaconus et Gaudericus Episc., Vita S. Clementis Papae et Martyris.

235. Saec. xii[2]. Gilbertus, Concordia Epistolarum Pauli.

246. Composed of two MSS.:

(i) pp. 1–84, in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii/xiii. Evangelium Iohannis cum glossa.

(ii) pp. 85–148, in Beneventan, saec. xii ex. Comment in Esaiam et alia.

247. Composed of two MSS.:

(i) pp. 1–128, in ordinary minuscule, saec. xiii. Biblica et alia.

(ii) pp. 129–380, in Beneventan, saec. xii. Victorinus, Hieronymus, et alii.

257. *Petrus Diaconus. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. A few words in contemporary Beneventan are on pp.* 18–21.

267. Saec. xi in. Gregorius M., Homiliae in Ezechielem.

***269.** ante a. 949. Gregorius M., Moralia; Tabulae paschales. See p. 69.

270. Saec. xi ex. Gregorius M., Homiliae XL in Evangelia, et alia.

271. Palimpsest:

(i) Upper script, Beneventan, saec. xi med. Gregorius M., Dialogi.

(ii) Second script, Beneventan, saec. x/xi. Missale plenum.

(iii) Lowest script, uncial, saec. vii/viii. Augustinus in Psalm.; Missalis Gregor. fragm. (A. Wilmart, *Rev. Bénéd.* xxvi. 281 sqq.) See p. 75.

275. Saec. xi ex. Gregorius Turonensis, Historia Francorum.

276. Saec. xii ex. Collectio de divinis Officiis.

280. Saec. xi ex. Guaiferius, Homiliae et Versus; Alfanus, Carmina varia.

284. Saec. xi ex. Hieronymus, Expos. in Ecclesiasten.

286. Saec. xi[2]. Hieronymus, Expos. in Ezechielem.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

287. Composed of three MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–100, saec. xi med. Origen (Rufin.), Homiliae in librum Iesu Nave.
(ii) pp. 101–190, saec. x. Hieronymus, Expos. in Ecclesiasten; palimpsest: upper script, saec. xi.
(iii) pp. 191–311, saec. x. Hieronymus, Expos. in Danielem.

288. Saec. xii. Hieronymus, Expos. in Danielem et in Evang. Marci; Homiliae Ioh. Chrysostomi.

290. Saec. xii. Hieronymus, Comment. in XII Prophetas.

291. Saec. xi^2. Hieronymus, Comment. in Epistolas Pauli.

292. Saec. xi. Hieronymus, Quaestiones Hebraicae, et alia.

293. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–207, in ordinary minuscule, saec. xiii. Hieronymus, Quaestiones Hebraicae, et alia.
(ii) pp. 208–382, in Beneventan, saec. xi^2. Hieronymus, Adversus Iovinianum, et alia.

295. Composed of different parts:
(i) pp. 1–64, palimpsest: the lower script (uncial), Cassianus, Institutiones; upper script (Beneventan, saec. x ex. or xi in.), Hieronymus, Epistolae.
(ii) pp. 65–257, saec. x ex. or xi in. Hieronymus, Epistolae.
(iii) pp. 258, 264, saec. xiii; pp. 260–1, saec. xi in.; p. 259, ordinary minuscule.

297. Composed of three MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–136, saec. xi. Hieronymus, Dialogus adversus Pelagianos.
(ii) pp. 137–248, saec. xi in. Beda, Chronicon; Collectio Canonum.
(iii) pp. 249–64, saec. xi. Festus, Breviarium.

298. Composed of three MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–48, saec. xi in. Hieronymus, Epistolae.
(ii) pp. 49–80, saec. xi post med. Ambrosius, De Mysteriis.
(iii) pp. 81–244, saec. xi. Widukindus, Res gestae Saxonicae.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

*299. Saec. ix. Hildericus Magister, Ars Grammatica.

300. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–194, saec. xii. Historia recuperationis Hierusalem et Antiochiae; Gesta Salvatoris.
(ii) pp. 195–209, saec. xiv. Isidorus, De ortu et obitu PP.

302. Cassiodorus, Historia tripartita. Written in different ages, hands, and at different periods: pp. 4–266 are in ordinary minuscule, saec. x–xi; pp. 315–78, in Beneventan, saec. xi ex.

303. Circa. a. 1019. Paulus Orosius, Historiae. See p. 58.

*305. a. 1025–55. Homiliarium. See p. 75.

310. Saec. xi^{2}. Homiliarium. See p. 75.

314. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Cassianus, Institutiones.

317. Saec. xi in. Iohannes abbas Cluniacensis, Sententiae morales super Iob.

318. Saec. xi. Micrologus, et varia opera de Musica. See p. 75.

321. Saec. xi^{1}. Isidorus, Sententiae et Synonyma.

322. Saec. x ex. or xi in. Praedestinatus; Isidorus, Differentiae; Eucherius, Instructiones.

324. Saec. xi in. Iulianus Toletanus, Prognosticon, et alia patristica.

326. Saec. xi ex. Iuvencus, Evangeliorum Libri Quattuor.

*332. Saec. ix/x or x in. Martianus Capella, De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii.

333. Saec. xi ex. Maximus Confessor, De obscuris in Sacra Scriptura ad Thalassium.

339. a. 1058–87 (Desiderian). Liber Sacramentorum.

343. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–251, saec. xii ex. Origen (Rufinus), Homiliae.
(ii) pp. 254–396, saec. xi. Origen (Rufinus), Periarchon. See p. 151.

344. Saec. xi. Origen (Rufinus), Homiliae in Numeros.

345. Saec. xi in. Origen (Rufinus), Homiliae in Leviticum et Iudices.

347. Saec. xi ex. Origen (Rufinus), Expos. in Epistolam Pauli ad Rom.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

348. Saec. xi ex. Palladius, Historia Lausiaca; Athanasius, De Observatione monachorum; Praedestinatus (cf. MS. 322).

349. Saec. xi in. Actus Apost., Apocal., Epist. Canonic., Epist. Pauli.

350. Saec. xi^{2}. Paterius, Liber testimoniorum.

351. Saec. xi. Paulus Aegineta, De curatione totius corporis.

352. Saec. xi ante med. Paulus Diaconus, Expos. in Regulam S. Benedicti.

358. Saec. xi ex. Petrus Damianus, Epistolae, Sermones, Carmina.

359. Saec. xi ex. Petrus Damianus, Epistolae, Sermones.

360. Saec. xi ex. Paulus Diac., Expos. in Reg. S. Benedicti.

371. Saec. xi/xii. Philippus presb. in Iob; Hegemonius, Acta Archelai.

372. Saec. xi in. Paenitentiarium Summorum Pontificum. See p. 75.

*374. Saec. ix/x. Prudentius.

384. Saec. x in. Sententiae PP.

391. Saec. xi. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.

400. Saec. xi^{1}. Vitae PP.

*401. Saec. x. Glossarium.

*402. Saec. x ex. Glossarium.

413. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–241, saec. xi. Vitae SS. Wenceslai, Remigii.
(ii) pp. 245–68, saec. xi ex. Passio S. Fidis, Vita S. Mennatis. Autograph of Leo Ostiensis.

415. Saec. xiii. Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, Super Quattuor Evangelia.

424. Saec. xi med. Lectionarium.

426. Saec. xi^{2}. Missale plenum. See p. 75.

434. Saec. xi. Psalterium cum expositionibus.

439. Saec. x. Glossarium, Eucherius, Canones, et alia.

*440. a. 1278–82. Bernardus Ayglerius, Comment. in Regulam S. Benedicti.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

442. Miscellany containing Regula S. Benedicti, Litaniae, Orationes, et alia:
(i) foll. 1–71, saec. xi[1]. Regula S. Benedicti.
(ii) foll. 72–80, saec. xi. Glossae in Regulam.
(iii) foll. 81–184, saec. xi ex. (Desiderian). Liturgica.
(iv) foll. 185–200, saec. xi.

443. Saec. xi. Regulae Basilii, Pachomii, et Macharii; Defensor, Liber Scintillarum.

*444. a. 1075–90. Kalendarium et Regula S. Benedicti.

446. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) pp. 1–198, saec. x/xi. Regula S. Benedicti, Orationale anni circuli.
(ii) pp. 199–352, in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. Hieronymus in Genesim.

*450. Saec. xii ex.–xiii in. Chronica Mon. Casinensis Maior.

451. Saec. xi. Ordo Romanus (cf. Rome Vallicell. D 5).

453. Saec. xi ex. (Desiderian). Sermones et Carmina de SS. Benedicto, Scholastica, et Mauro. Cf. Vatic. lat. 1202.

462. Vitae SS. et Homiliae. Composed of two parts:
(i) foll. 1–16, saec. xii.
(ii) foll. 17 sqq., saec. xi in.

463. Saec. xi[1]. Vitae SS. See p. 75.

465. Saec. xi. Iohan. Diaconus, Vita S. Gregorii Papae.

466. Composed of different parts: pp. 185–214 are in Beneventan, saec. xiii. Passio S. Thomae Cantuariensis.

506. Saec. xi. Hymnarium. The lower script of the palimpsest portion is Beneventan, saec. x/xi.

518. Saec. xii. Registrum S. Placidi.

520. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Octateuch.

521. Saec. xi[1]. Composed of two MSS. (according to Dom De Bruyne):
(i) Acta Apost., Epist. Cathol., Apocal.
(ii) Libri Regum, Sapient., Iob, Tob., Iudith, Esther, et Macchab. See p. 75.

522. Saec. xii. Collectio Canonum.

527. Saec. xi ex. Pars Vet. Testamenti et Acta Apostol., Epistolae Pauli.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

531. Saec. xi[1]. Pentateuch.

534. Saec. xi[1]. Pentateuchi pars et Homiliae.

535. Saec. xi[1]. Prophetae maior. et minores. See p. 75.

536. Saec. xi ex. Prophetae maiores.

540. Saec. xi/xii. Missale plenum et Kalendarium.

541. Saec. xi. Cresconius, Concordia Canonum.

542. Saec. xii[2]. Antiphonarium.

543. Saec. xi. Prophetae maior. et minores. See p. 75.

546. Saec. xii/xiii. Graduale et Kalendarium.

552. Saec. xi in. Actus Apost., Epist. Canonicae, Apocal., Cant. Canticorum, Sapient., Eccles., Quattuor Evangelia, Passio SS. Pages 1–207 are saec. xi in.; pp. 207 sqq. may be somewhat later; p. 206 is saec. xiii, and contains the oldest known Italian verses:—*Eo siniuri seo fabello | lobostru audire compello, &c.*

553. Saec. xi in. Libri Regum et Salomonis.

554. Saec. x. Collectio Canonum. Written in Caroline minuscule, except pp. 1–50, where Beneventan and Caroline hands alternate.

559. Saec. xi/xii. Breviarium. Cf. Paris Mazar. 364.

565. Saec. xii. Octateuch.

571. Saec. xi ex. (probably Desiderian). Prophetae maiores et minores.

572. Saec. xi[1]. Libri Regum, Iudith, Esther, Macchabaeorum.

575. Saec. ix. Augustinus, Enchiridion; Prosper, Sententiae ex Augustino. A portion of this MS. is in the miscellany T XLV.

580. *Saec. xi. Lexicon prosodiacum. On pp.* 1–10 *Beneventan and ordinary minuscule occur.*

583. Saec. xi in. Octateuch.

589. Saec. xiii/xiv. Prophetae.

595. Saec. xi post med. Lactantius, Divinae Institutiones.

640. Saec. xii ex.–xiii. Registrum S. Matthaei Servorum Dei.

*753. Saec. viii med. Isidorus, Sententiae. Cf. Monte Cassino MS. T XLV.

*759. Saec. xi in. Octateuch.

760. Saec. xi. Octateuch. See p. 75.

MONTE CASSINO (*cont.*).

Archivio della Badia.

792. Saec. xiii. Vitae SS.

805. Saec. xi^2. Augustinus, Sermones. See p. 74.

Regesto No. 3. Saec. xii. Registrum Petri Diaconi.

***Regesto No. 4.** a. 1137–66. Registrum S. Angeli ad Formam. See p. 54.

Exultet Roll. a. 1106–20. See p. 76 under **Sorrento.**

Exultet Roll. Saec. xi. A fragment of a roll, presented by M. Camera of Amalfi.

Miscellanea.

***T XLV.** *A bound volume composed of parts of different MSS., three of which are in Beneventan:*

(*i*) *saec. xi. Grammatica.*

(*ii*) *saec. viii med. Isidorus, Sententiae (formed quire q of Monte Cassino* 753).

(*iii*) *saec. ix. Augustinus, Soliloquia, &c. (formed part of Monte Cassino* 575).

Collections of loose fragments. *There are seven bundles, of which the most important are:*

(*i*) *Gregor. M., Dialog. lib. ii. Saec. xi med.*

(*ii*) *Fragm. biblica. Saec. xi in.*

(*iii*) *Fragm. biblica. Saec. xi ex.–xii.*

(*iv*) *Fragm. liturgica (Breviar.). Saec. xi med.*

(*v*) *Fragm. liturgica (Missal.). Saec. xi ex.*

(*vi*) *Fragm. liturgica (Missal.). Saec. xi ante med.*

(*vii*) *Varia liturgica, patristica, classica:*

(*a*) *Débris of a beautiful Desiderian Martyrology.*

(*b*) *Débris of Virgil's Aeneid (iii–xii). Saec. xi. See p.* 151.

(*c*) *Beda, De temporum ratione. Saec. x.*

MUNICH.

Hof- u. Staatsbibliothek.

***337.** Saec. x. Dioscorides Latinus. See p. 19.

***4623.** a. 1098–1106. Leo Ostiensis (sive Marsicanus), Chronica Monasterii Casinensis. See p. 71.

***6437.** Saec. ix/x. Hyginus, Fabulae. Four small fragments of the codex unicus Frisingensis.

15826. *Cassiodorus, De anima. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi. Fol.* 96 (*l.* 9 *to end of page*) *is in contemporary Beneventan. See p.* 262.

NAPLES.

Archivio di Stato.

48. Saec. xiii ex. Breviarium Benedictinum.

74. Saec. xiii in. Vita et obitus S. Guilielmi (foll. 1–65).

79. Saec. xiii. Breviarium monasticum.

Bibl. Brancacci I B 12. Saec. xii. Leges Langobardorum.

Bibl. Nazionale.

IV F 3. Saec. xii. Ovid, Metamorphoses cum glossis. See p. 151.

VI AA 3. Saec. xi ex. Vet. Testamenti pars. See p. 77.

VI AA 4. Composed of three MSS.:

(i) foll. 1–198, saec. xii/xiii } Parts of the Bible, written
(ii) foll. 199–259, saec. xii } in ordinary minuscule.
(iii) foll. 260–7, 270–6 (Vitae SS.) are in Beneventan, saec. xii. See p. 77.

VI AA 5. Saec. x/xi. Vet. Testam. (Genes.—Iudic.). On fol. 1 is the entry: 'lib̄ maioris ecclie ben^{ne}' (see facs. on p. 66). The Naples MS. should have been included in the list given on p. 68.

VI B 2. Saec. xi in. Homiliarium. See p. 77.

***VI B 3.** a. 1145–65. Haymo, Comment. in Epist. Pauli. See p. 75.

VI B 11. Saec. xi/xii. Haymo, Comment. in Epist. Pauli. See p. 77.

***VI B 12.** a. 817–35. Pomerius (ps.-Prosper), De vita contemplativa; Tabulae paschales, Kalendarium, &c. See p. 77.

VI B 13. Saec. xii. Collationes Patrum. Foll. 1–96 are in ordinary minuscule, with Beneventan rubrics. Foll. 97–135 are in Beneventan. See p. 77.

VI D 1. Saec. xi ex. Hieronymus, Quaestiones Hebraicae; Eusebius, Chronicon. See p. 77.

***VI E 43.** a. 1099–1118. Breviarium, Kalendarium, Tabulae paschales, &c. See p. 67.

VI E 45. *A liturgical leaf (fragment of a Breviarium, with neums) in Beneventan writing, saec. xii.*

NAPLES (*cont.*).

Bibl. Nazionale.

VI F 2. Saec. xi/xii. Psalterium. Cf. Paris Mazar. 364.

VI G 29. Saec. xiii. Hymnarium.

VI G 31. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) foll. 1–46, saec. xi ex. Breviarium.
(ii) foll. 47–59, saec. xiii. Rituale. Belonged to the Bibl. Vallicelliana, Rome.

VI G 34. Saec. xii. Processionale. See p. 77.

VIII AA 19. Saec. xii ex. Homiliarium. Belonged to Bp. Cavallieri of Troja, and should be added to the MSS. mentioned on p. 77.

VIII B 1. Saec. xiii. Vitae SS. (Ianuarii, Athanasii, Aspreni, &c.). Foll. 17–59 are in Beneventan. See p. 73.

VIII B 3. Saec. xi. Vitae SS. Originally formed the second part of a MS. of which VIII B 4 was the first part. See p. 77.

VIII B 4. Saec. xi. Vitae SS. See p. 77.

VIII B 5. Saec. xii/xiii. Vitae SS. See p. 77.

VIII B 6. Saec. xi. Vitae SS. See pp. 77 and 151.

VIII B 7. Vitae SS. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) foll. 1–109, saec. xi.
(ii) foll. 110–17, saec. xii/xiii. See p. 73.

VIII B 8. Vitae SS. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) foll. 1–40, saec. xi.
(ii) foll. 41–62, saec. xiii. See p. 73.

***VIII C 4.** a. 1094–1105. Kalendarium, Martyrologium, &c. See p. 71.

S. Martino 3. Antiphonarium et Hymnarium. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) foll. 1–15, saec. xii.
(ii) foll. 16–48, saec. xii/xiii. See p. 67.

S. Martino 11. Saec. xii/xiii. Breviarium Benedictinum. Foll. 1–4 are saec. xiii. See p. 68.

S. Martino 14. Saec. xi. Hymnarium et Antiphonarium. See p. 151.

OXFORD.

Bodleian Library.

Canonici Class. lat. 41. Saec. xi/xii. Juvenal, Satires with scholia.

Canonici Class. lat. 50. Saec. xi. Virgil, Bucolics, Georgics, Aeneid, with scholia. See pp. 151.

***Canonici Bibl. lat. 61.** Saec. xi ex. Evangeliarium, &c. See pp. 64 and 151.

***Canonici Patr. lat. 175.** Saec. xii in. Anselmus, Comment. in Octateuchum; Melus Barensis, Versus in honorem S. Mariae, &c. See pp. 67 and 151.

***Canonici Lit. lat. 277.** Saec. xi ex. Horae B. V. M. cum aliis officiis. See pp. 64 and 151.

***Canonici Lit. lat. 342.** Saec. xiii. Missale plenum. See p. 64.

Douce 127. Saec. xi ex. Psalterium. See p. 76.

Roe 1. *The four Gospels, in Greek writing, saec. xi. Fly-leaves i–ii and 224–7 (Cassiodorus, Histor. tripartita, lib. x) are in Beneventan, saec. xii.*

PADUA.

Bibl. Universitaria 878. *Beda in Cantica Canticorum. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. Initial and final fly-leaves (Euseb.-Rufinus, Hist. Ecclesiastica, lib. iii) are in Beneventan, saec. xii. See p. 152.*

PARIS.

Bibliothèque Nationale.

MSS. lat.

*335. Epistolae Pauli. Composed of two MSS.:
(i) foll. 1–136, saec. ix.
(ii) foll. 137–55, saec. x.

*7530. a. 779–97. Varia grammatica, Kalendarium, Tabulae paschales, &c. See p. 71.

10308. Saec. xi. Virgil, Bucolics, Georgics, Aeneid, with glosses.

17177. *Miscellany. Foll. 18–19 (patristica) are in Beneventan, saec. x.*

Nouv. Acq. 710. Circa a. 1100. Exultet Roll. See p. 69.

Nouv. Acq. 1628. *Miscellaneous fragments. Foll. 19–26 (medica) are in Beneventan, saec. xi ex. See p. 19.*

Nouv. Acq. 2199. *Miscellaneous fragments. Fol. 17 is in Beneventan, saec. xi/xii (Leo Ostiensis, Chron. Monasterii Casinensis, ii. 32–4). Parts of the same MS. are in London Add. 28106.*

PARIS (*cont.*).

Bibliothèque Nationale.

MSS. lat.

Nouv. Acq. 2389. *Miscellaneous fragments. Fol.* 13, *a part of a Missal, is in Beneventan, saec. xi or xii* (*according to Dom A. Wilmart*).

***Bibl. Mazarine 364.** a. 1099–1105. Breviarium, Kalend., Annales. Similar MSS. are London Add. 18859, Naples VI F 2, Vatic. Urbin. lat. 585, and Vatic. lat. 4928. See p. 72.

PISA.

Museo Civico. Exultet Roll. Saec. xi.

PRAGUE.

***Universitätsbibl. 1224** (VII A 16). *Miscellany. Two leaves are in Beneventan, saec. x. Livy, Hist. Romana* (*iii.* 37. 7–40. 4). *See p.* 18.

RAGUSA.

Library of the Dominicans. *Patristic and biblical fragments from eight MSS. enumerated above, on p.* 64 *sq. See also p.* 151 *sq.*

RIETI.

Bibl. Capitolare. Excerpta ex Canonibus (*s. n.*). Saec. xi (according to Bethmann in Pertz' *Archiv*, xii. 488).

ROME.

Bibl. Angelica 1496 (v 3. 3). Palimpsest. Upper script (varia medica: Galen, Hippocrates, Garipontus) is in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii; lower script (medica) is in Beneventan, saec. xi.

Basilica di S. Pietro, Bibl. Capitolare.

G 46. *S. Bernardus, Meditationes. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xiii. The fly-leaf* (*liturg.*) *is in Beneventan, saec. xi.*

G 49. Saec. xiii. 'Meditationes psalm. paenitentialium.'

H 44. Saec. xii/xiii. Tractatus de Medicina.

Bibl. Casanatense.

614 (B III 7). Saec. xii/xiii. Pontificale.

***641** (B IV 18). Composed of two MSS.:

(i) foll. 1–81, a. 811–12. Alcuin, De Trinitate; Computi eccles., Kalendarium, Tabulae paschales, &c. See p. 72.

(ii) foll. 82–189, saec. x in. Varia patristica, Vitae SS.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Casanatense.

724 (B I 13). Composed of parts of three distinct rolls:
(i) Pontificale. Saec. x ex. ut vid. See p. 68.
(ii) Benedictio fontis. Saec. x/xi, ut vid. See p. 68.
(iii) Exultet Roll. Saec. xii.

*1086 (A III 11). Saec. ix. Ursus ep. Beneventanus, Artis Prisciani Abbreviatio. See p. 68.

1101 (A II 32). Saec. xi (2nd half). Evangelia. See p. 151.

1104 (B II 23). Vitae SS., Vet. Testam., &c. Miscellany: (i) foll. 1–7, saec. xii ex.; (ii) saec. xiii; (iii) saec. xi ex.; (iv) saec. xii; (v) a palimpsest, lower script being Beneventan, saec. xii.

1408 (A I 16). Saec. xii. Vitae SS.

Bibl. Chigi.

A V 145. *Petrus Damianus, Epist. et Sermones. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii ex. Foll.* 1–4 (*except* 3^{v}) *are in contemporary Beneventan.*

A VII 202. Saec. xii. Bruno ep. Signiensis, Expos. in Psalm.

C IV 113. Saec. xiii. 'Officium B. Virginis.' See p. 73, n. 3.

C VI 176. Saec. xii in. Breviarium.

D V 77. Saec. xi ex. Psalterium, with canticles, litany, &c. See p. 75 sq.

Bibl. Corsini.

*777 (41 G 12). Vitae SS., &c. Composed of two parts:
(i) foll. 1–75, saec. xii, ut vid.
(ii) foll. 75^{v}–192, a. 1226–52. See p. 73.

Monastery of St. Calixtus. *A liturgical fragment (with neums) in Beneventan writing, saec. xi, is in the posssession of Dom Greg. Palmieri, O.S.B.*

Bibl. Vallicelliana.

A 7. Saec. xi. Homiliae, Vitae SS.

A 10. Saec. xii. Homiliarium.

A 15. Saec. xiii. Pentateuch.

A 16. Saec. xi. Homiliae, Vitae SS.

A 17. Saec. xii. Prophetae maiores et minores.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vallicelliana.

B 2. Hieronymus in Prophet. Minores. Foll. 53–225 are in Beneventan, saec. xi (2nd half).

B 3. *Prophetae maiores et minores. Written in ordinary minuscule. Fol.* 198 (*fly-leaf*) *formed two leaves of a Beneventan MS., saec. x/xi, containing Acta SS.*

B 5. Saec. xiii in. Homiliae, Vitae SS.

B 24. *Sacramentarium Sublacense. Written in ordinary minuscule, a.* 1075. *Entries in Beneventan writing occur on fol.* 101.

***B 32.** a. 1059–70. Necrologium, Regula S. Benedicti, &c. See p. 77.

B 38[2]. *Augustinus, Enarrat. in Psalmos. Written in uncial, saec. vii/viii. On fol.* 1, *upper margin, is an addition in Beneventan, saec. xi. Forms part of the same MS. as Vatic. Ottob. lat.* 319.

B 39. Saec. xiii. Lectionarium, Vitae SS.

B 42. Saec. xii ex. Haymo, Comment. in Epist. Pauli.

B 59. Palimpsest. The lower script of foll. 1–39 (Expos. in Genesim) is Beneventan, saec. xiii.

B 66. Foll. 1–88 are in Beneventan, saec. xi ex. Glossae in Nov. Testam., &c.

C 9. Gregorius M., Dialogi; Vitae SS.
Foll. 1–137, saec. xii in.; foll. 138–73, saec. xii ex. or xiii in. Foll. 152–66 are palimpsest, the lower script (Priscian's Institut. Grammaticae) being Beneventan, saec. ix. Foll. 167–73, likewise palimpsest, are written over liturgica with neums.

C 32. Saec. xi. Ordo Romanus.
Foll. 97–105 are palimpsest, the upper script being somewhat more recent than the body of the MS.

C 36. Miscellany. Foll. 183–207 (liturgica) are in Beneventan saec. xii.

C 39. Gregorius M., Cura Pastoralis. Foll. 136–208 are in Beneventan, saec. xii.

C 51. Saec. xi/xii. Breviarium.

C 70. Foll. 78–127 (patristica) are in Beneventan, saec. xi.

D 5. Saec. xi. Ordo Romanus. Cf. Monte Cassino 451, of which it may be a copy.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vallicelliana.

D 8. Saec. xii ex. Vet. et Novum Testam. See p. 76.

D 36. Saec. xii. Acta Apostolorum.

D 42. Composed of various MSS.:

(i) foll. 1–10, saec. xiii. Comment. in Iohannem.
(ii) foll. 11–25, saec. xii. Vitae SS.
(iii) foll. 26–37, saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.
(iv) foll. 38–47, saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.
(v) foll. 48–63, saec. xii. Homiliae.
(vi) foll. 64–8, saec. xii (2nd half). Fragm. librorum Paralipom. Palimpsest.
(vii) foll. 69–76, saec. xii (2nd half). De dedicatione Pantheon.

D 52. Homiliarium. Foll. 1–61 are in Beneventan, saec. xii (2nd half). Palimpsest in part.

E 24. *Psalterium. Written in ordinary minuscule. One fly-leaf (part of a Missal) is in Beneventan, saec. xi/xii (according to P. Liebaert).*

E 28[1]. Foll. 86–149 are in Beneventan, saec. xii. Epistolae Pauli cum glossis. See p. 152.

F 2. Collectio Canonum. Palimpsest; the lower script is Beneventan, saec. xi.

F 8. Foll. 179–226 are in Beneventan, saec. xi (2nd half). Canones Paenitentiales.

G 98. *One folio, marked 25, containing liturgical matter with neums and part of the Passio S. Anastasii, is in Beneventan, saec. xii in.*

R 32. *Composed of the débris of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin MSS. In Beneventan writing are:*

(i) fol. 20, saec. xi in. Liturgical fragm. with neums.
(ii) foll. 21–6, saec. xii ex. Liturgical fragm. with neums.
(iii) foll. 35–6, saec. xi ex. (Desiderian). Fragm. of a beautiful Martyrology.
(iv) foll. 39–40, saec. x. Glossarium.
(v) foll. 89–90, saec. xi. Liturgical fragm.

Tom. III. Composite MS. Foll. 1–164 are in Beneventan, saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.

T. IV. Saec. xii/xiii. Vitae SS.

T. VIII. Saec. xi/xii. Vitae SS. (Some leaves are more recent.)

T. IX. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vallicelliana.

T. XI. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS.

T. XIII. Composite MS. Vitae SS.
(i) foll. 191–212, saec. xiii in.
(ii) foll. 213–28, saec. xii ex.
(iii) foll. 229–42, saec. xi.

T. XV. Composite MS. Lectionarium, Vitae SS.
(i) foll. 1–191, saec. xii/xiii.
(ii) foll. 192–234, saec. xi.

T. XVI. Composite MS. Vitae SS., Varia patristica et liturgica.
(i) foll. 1–101, saec. xii.
(ii) foll. 102–24, saec. xi.
(iii) foll. 125–32, saec. xii.
(iv) foll. 133–9, saec. xi.
(v) foll. 148–55, saec. xi/xii.
(vi) foll. 160–207, saec. xi.
(vii) foll. 208–15, saec. xii.

T. XVII. Composite MS. Vitae SS., &c.
(i) foll. 1–161, saec. xi med.
(ii) foll. 163–8, saec. xiii.
(iii) foll. 174–80, saec. xii.
(iv) foll. 181–6, saec. xii.

T. XIX. Saec. xi. Vitae SS., &c. Foll. 1–31 are saec. xi in.

T. XX. Composite MS. Varia patristica, Vitae SS., &c. In Beneventan are:
(i) foll. 1–87, saec. xi med.
(ii) foll. 161–4, saec. xi/xii.
(iii) foll. 167–70, saec. xii.

T. XXI. Composite MS. Varia patristica, Vitae SS., &c. In Beneventan are:
(i) foll. 1–117, saec. xi ex.
(ii) foll. 118–25, saec. xii ex.
(iii) foll. 126–31, saec. xi in.
(iv) foll. 140–4, saec. xi ex.
(v) foll. 145–50, saec. xii.
(vi) foll. 151–4, saec. xii ex.
(vii) foll. 155–68, saec. xiii.
(viii) foll. 169–80, saec. xii.
(ix) foll. 197–202, saec. xi.
(x) foll. 203–40, saec. xi in. In the same script as part iii.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vallicelliana.

T. XXII. Composite MS. Vitae SS.
(i) foll. 1–163, saec. xi med.
(ii) foll. 164–81, saec. xii.

Archivio Vaticano, *Regesti Vaticani I. Saec. xi ex. Register of John VIII. See p. 73.

Bibl. Vaticana.

Vaticani latini.

378. *Martyrologium, Regula S. Benedicti, &c. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi ex. On foll.* 28, 53, *and* 72^{v} *are entries in Beneventan.*

591. Saec. xii/xiii. Gregorius M., Cura Pastoralis.

595. Saec. xi ex. Gregorius M., Dialogi.

968. *Iohannes de Capistrano, Speculum Conscientiae, in 15th-century writing. The final fly-leaves, foll.* 151–2 (*part of a Missal*), *are in Beneventan, saec. xii.*

1197. Saec. xi ex. Vitae SS. See p. 76.

***1202.** a. 1058–1087 (Desiderian). Lectionarium, containing Gregory's Life of St. Benedict, homilies and verses in honour of SS. Scholastica and Maur, &c. Cf. Monte Cassino 453. See above, p. 72.

1203. Saec. xi ex. Desiderius, Miracula S. Benedicti. See p. 72.

1349. Saec. xi. Collectio Canonum et Conciliorum.

1468. Saec. xi. Glossarium. See p. 152.

1573. Saec. xi. Virgil, Bucolics, Georgics, Aeneid.

3227. Saec. xii in. Cicero, Philippics, Somnium Scipionis; O Roma nobilis, &c. See p. 72.

3253. Saec. xi. Virgil, Georgics and Aeneid.

3262. Saec. xi ex. Ovid, Fasti. See p. 72.

3281. Saec. xii in. Statius, Achilleis; written over fragments of the Old Testament, in uncial.

3286. Saec. xi. Juvenal, Satires with glosses.

***3313.** Saec. ix. Priscian, Institutiones Grammaticae. See p. 68.

***3317.** Saec. x. Servius in Vergilium.

***3320.** Saec. ix. Glossarium, &c.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vaticana.

Vaticani latini.

3321. *Glossarium, &c. Written in uncial, saec. viii. The paper fly-leaf bearing the ownership mark of Fulvio Orsini has, at the left edge, the reversed impression of Beneventan writing of the 11th century.*

3327. Saec. xii/xiii. Sallust, Bellum Catilinae, Bellum Iugurthinum. See p. 152.

3328. *Strips in Beneventan writing, saec. xiii, are used for strengthening the binding. Strips from the same MS. are used in Vatic. lat.* 3262.

3340. Saec. xi. Paulus Orosius, Historiae adversum Paganos.

***3342.** Saec. x. Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium.

***3375.** *Eugippius. Written in semi-uncial, saec. vi. Additions in 11th-century Beneventan, inserted in the margin or over the erased semi-uncial text, occur on foll.* 17, 20^{v}, 212, 237^{v}, 267^{v}, 275, *&c. See p.* 73.

3539. Saec. xi ex. Sulpicius Severus, Vita S. Martini; Caesarius, Homiliae; Basilius, Regula, &c.

3549. Saec. xi ex. Cassianus, Collationes.

3741. Saec. xi ex. Evangelia.

3764. *Vitae Summorum Pontificum. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi/xii. On fol.* 4–4^{v} *are additions in Beneventan. See p.* 69.

3784. Saec. xi (Desiderian, a. 1058–87). Exultet Roll. See p. 72.

***3973.** Saec. xii ex. (post a. 1178). Romualdus Salernitanus, Chronicon. See p. 74.

4222. Saec. xi (1st half). Lectionarium.

4770. *Missale plenum. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. x ex. A contemporary Beneventan hand continues the text for about* 20 *lines on fol.* 216, *and* 12 *lines on fol.* 216^{v}.

4918. *Isidorus, De fide Catholica contra Iudaeos. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. The first fly-leaf and eight small strips used for strengthening the binding come from a 9th-century Beneventan MS. of Gregory's Dialogues.*

4920.
4923.
4924.
4925.
The small strips used for strengthening the binding formed part of the same MS. of Gregory as is found in Vatic. lat. 4918.

***4928.** Saec. xii in. Breviarium, Annales Beneventani. See p. 68, and compare Paris Mazar. 364.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vaticana.

Vaticani latini.

*4939. Saec. xii (1st half). Chronicon Monasterii S. Sophiae. See p. 68.

4948. Saec. xi in. Euseb.–Rufinus, Historia Ecclesiastica, &c.

4955. Saec. xi. Paralipomena, lib. ii; Hrabanus Maurus in libros Regum; Augustinus, Confessiones, Soliloquia, Quaestiones; Hieronymus, Contra Iovinianum, &c. See p. 68.

*4958. Circa a. 1087 (Desiderian). Martyrologium. See p. 72.

4981. Saec. xiii. Collectio Canonum.

*5007. Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum. Composed of two parts:

(i) foll. 1–100, in uncial, saec. viii/ix.

(ii) foll. 101–30, in Beneventan, saec. x (1st half). See p. 74.

5100. Saec. xiii. Evangeliarium. See p. 73.

5419. Saec. xii. Necrologium, Homiliae Capitulares, Regula S. Benedicti. See p. 68.

5735. Saec. xi (Desiderian, a. 1058–87). Gregorius M., Dialogi. See p. 72.

*5845. a. 915–34. Collectio Canonum. See p. 69.

*5949. Saec. xii ex. Martyrologium, Regula S. Benedicti, Kalendarium, Homiliae Capitulares, &c. See p. 68.

6082. Saec. xii. Missale Benedictinum. See p. 72.

7231. Saec. xiii. Missale plenum.

7606. Saec. xii. Vitae SS.

7701. *Pontificale, in curious minuscule, saec. x, ut. vid. On fol.* 34^{v} *is half a page* (*liturg.*) *in Beneventan, saec. xi in.*

7810. Saec. xi. Vitae SS.

7814. Saec. ix. Gregorius M., Dialogi.

7818. *Pontificale, in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. Pages* 327–42 (*Epist. Brunonis ep. Signiensis*) *are in Beneventan, saec. xii.*

*9820. Saec. x ex. Exultet Roll. See p. 68.

10504. *Boethius, De Consolatione; Prosper, Epigram., in* 14*th-century minuscule. The fly-leaves marked* 1, 1*a*, 74, *and* 75 (*part of an Antiphonary*) *are in Beneventan, saec. xiii.*

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vaticana.

Vaticani latini.

10645. *Composed of the débris of several MSS. In Beneventan writing are:*

(*i*) *foll.* 3–6, *saec. xi; part of a Missale plenum. See p.* 152.

(*ii*) *fol.* 63, *saec. xii; part of a Breviarium; served as fly-leaf of Vatic. lat.* 6865.

(*iii*) *fol.* 64, *saec. xii ex.; part of a Graduale troparium.*

(*iv*) *fol.* 68, *saec. xiii ex.; part of an Antiphonarium.*

(*v*) *fol.* 69, *saec. xiii; part of a Hymnarium.*

10657. Saec. xiii. Chartularium Abbatiae S. Mariae de Mare. See p. 76.

10673. Saec. xi. Fragment of a Graduale.

Vatic. gr.

1666. *Gregorius M., Dialogi, written in Greek, circa a.* 800. *The paschalion on fol.* 42 *is in Beneventan letters* (*saec. x ex.*); *on foll.* 41v–2 *the dies paschales are in Greek and Beneventan letters.*

Barberiniani latini.

160 (**IX 29**). Saec. xi. Herbarium, Galen, Priscianus, Oribasius, &c. Written in ordinary minuscule and contemporary Beneventan. See p. 152.

421 (**XI 64**). Saec. xi in. Martyrolog., Regula S. Benedicti, &c.

528 (**XI 171**). Saec. xiii. Hymnarium.

560 (**XII 3**). *Missale. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi/xii. One line in Beneventan writing, saec. xii, is added in the upper margin of fol.* 16v.

583 (**XII 26**). Saec. xiii. Vitae SS.

592 (**XIII 1**). Saec. xi ex. Exultet Roll. See p. 72.

603 (**XIII 12**). Saec. xii/xiii. Missale. See p. 69.

631 (**XIV 4**). Saec. xi ex. Pontificale. See p. 72.

646 (**XIV 19**). *Martyrolog., Reg. S. Benedicti. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi/xii. Additions in Beneventan occur passim.*

697 (**XIV 70**). *Rituale Capuanum, saec. xiv. Two liturgical fragments serve as fly-leaves: A is saec. xiii in.; Z, saec. xiii ex.*

699 (**XIV 72**). Saec. xii ex. Missale.

***2724** (**XXXIV 41**). Saec. xii in. Chronicon Vulturnense. See p. 75.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vaticana.

Barberiniani latini.

3750 (XLIV III). *A paper MS. of the 16th century, from Naples. A fragment of a Missal in Beneventan writing, saec. xiii, is in the cover.*

Stampati Barb. HH. I. 189. *In the cover of this book is a fragment of a MS. of Homilies in Beneventan writing, saec. xi.*

Borgiani latini.

***211.** a. 1094–1105. Missale. See p. 72.

339. a. 1082. Evangeliarium. See pp. 74 and 152.

Ottoboniani latini.

3. Saec. xii/xiii. Martyrologium. See p. 73.

37. *Martyrologium. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xiii. The last two leaves are in Beneventan, saec. xii.*

74. *Evangelia. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi. Two lines in Beneventan writing, saec. xi, are added on fol.* 176.

145. Saec. xi. Collectarium (Hymni, Cantica, Lectiones, Letaniae et Collectae).

160. Saec. xii. Epistolae Pauli.

246. *Apocal. cum glossis. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. One and a half folios before the MS. proper and one and a half after it are from a Breviarium in Beneventan writing, saec. xi.*

296. Saec. xi. Evangeliarium. See p. 152.

319. *Augustinus, Enarrat. in Psalmos. Written in uncial, saec. vii/viii. On fol.* 39, *lower right margin, is a note in Beneventan writing, saec. x. Cf. Rome Vallicell.* B 38^2.

576. Saec. xii ex. (foll. 2–220) and saec. xiii (foll. 1 + 221–377). Missale. Folios 1 + 341–377 are palimpsest; the lower script (part of two Missals) is Beneventan, saec. xi. See p. 152.

1406. Saec. xi ex. Porphyrius, Isagoge, &c.; Cicero, Liber topicorum; Boethius, De topicis differentiis, De hypotheticis syllogismis, and De divisione. See p. 73.

1939. Saec. xi ex. Macrobius super Somnium Scipionis; Boethius, Comment. in Aristot. peri hermenias, &c. See p. 73.

Ottob. gr.

250. *Epistolae S. Nili, in Greek. Front and back fly-leaves* (4 *foll.*) *are from a Martyrologium, saec. xi ex.* (*Desiderian, a.* 1058–87). *See p.* 73.

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vaticana.

Palatini latini.

178. *Hieronymus, Contra Pelagianos. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. x. The last fly-leaf* (*Antiphonar.*) *is in Beneventan, saec. xii/xiii. See p.* 152.

*909. a. 977–1026. Landolfus Sagax, Historia Miscella; Vegetius, Epitoma rei militaris. See p. 74.

Reginenses latini.

334. Composed of two parts:
(i) foll. 1–56, in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. Orationes, Litaniae, &c.
(ii) foll. 57–100, in Beneventan writing, saec. xi/xii. Processionale. See p. 76.

1105. *Tractatus de Medicina. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xii. Foll.* 68–76 *are palimpsest; lower script* (*part of a Missal*) *is Beneventan, saec. x.*

*1267. Composed of different parts:
(i) Foll. 1–135 (Euclid, Boethius), saec. xiii, and foll. 136–8 (Beda), saec. xi, are in ordinary minuscule.
(ii) In Beneventan script are foll. 139–40^{v} and part of 143, saec. ix/x (Calendarial matter); foll. 141^{v}–2^{v}, saec. x (Versus Marci Poetae de S. Benedicto); foll. 143^{v}–50^{v}, saec. ix/x (Dracontius, Satisfactio). See p. 68.

*1823. Saec. ix. Isidorus, Sententiae; Eucherius, Instructiones. See p. 68.

Urbinates latini.

*585. a. 1099–1105. Diurnale. See p. 73.

602. Saec. xi/xii and saec. xiii. Troparium. Foll. 1^{v}–23^{v}, 99^{v}–100^{v} are palimpsest, the lower script being saec. xi/xii, as in the bulk of the MS., and the upper, saec. xiii. Probably written at Monte Cassino.

Riserva Breviaria 13 (1^{a} **Raccolta 5330**). *Strips in Beneventan writing* (*? Vitae SS.*) *strengthen the binding of this book.*

Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele.

419. Varia 89. *Fragments of different MSS. In Beneventan writing are:* (*i*) *one leaf* (*liturg.*) *in* 2 *cols., saec. xi med.;* (*ii*) *part of a leaf in* 2 *cols., saec. xi* (inc. *in ea parte*); (*iii*) *fragm. in* 2 *cols., saec. xiii* (inc. *tanta multitudo*).

ROME (*cont.*).

Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele.

Sessoriani.

32 (2093). Saec. xiii. Hieronymus, Epistolae; Gregorius M., Moralia in Iob.

53 (1346). Saec. xi/xii. Sulpicius Severus, Dialogi; Gregor. Turonensis, De miraculis S. Martini, Hist. Francorum.

56 (1526). Saec. xi. Gregorius M., Dialogi.

81 (2030). Saec. xii/xiii. Augustinus, De continentia, De agone christiano, &c.; Paulinus ep. Nolan., Epist. ad Augustinum, &c.

105 (1377). Saec. xiii. Bruno ep. Signiensis, Expos. in Psalm.

SALERNO.

Bibl. Capitolare.

(1) Liber Confratrum S. Matthaei (foll. 1–12), Necrologium (foll. 13–51), saec. xi/xii. Foll. A, B, C+D, (Lection., Ambros., Evang. Luc.) are saec. xi. See p. 74.

(2) Lectionarium marked 'Expositio Evangelii'. Saec. xii/xiii.

SPALATO.

Archiv. Capitol.

*(1) Thomas Spalatensis, Historia Salonitana (*s. n.*), circa a. 1268. See pp. 65, 76.

(2) *Evangeliarium* (*s. n.*). *Written in uncial, saec. viii in. Additions in Beneventan occur on foll.* 135–6^{v}, 242^{v}. *See pp.* 65, 76.

SUBIACO.

Archivio del Monastero di S. Scolastica.

X 10. Lectionarium. Written in ordinary minuscule, saec. xi. Foll. 131–8 and 228–35^{v} are in Beneventan, saec. xi, according to V. Federici, *I monasteri di Subiaco*, ii. 4.

XCI 96. Sermones. In various scripts, saec. xiii. Partly in Beneventan, saec. xiii (cf. Federici, ibid., p. 5).

TERAMO.

Archivio della Curia Vescovile. Chartularium Ecclesiae Teramanae. Nine leaves are in Beneventan, saec. xii. See p. 76.

TRAÙ.

Bibl. Capitol. Evangeliarium. Saec. xii. See pp. 76 and 152.

TRÈVES.

Stadtbibliothek.

(1) *Four leaves (s. n.) marked 'Fragmenta ex Vita Mauri mart.', in Beneventan writing, saec. xii (according to W. M. Lindsay).*

(2) *Fragm. fasc. vii. A small fragment (patristica), in Beneventan, saec. x.*

TROJA.

Bibl. Capitol. Exultet Roll. Saec. xii. See p. 77.

TURIN.

Bibl. Nazionale K IV 3. Saec. xi ex. Miscellanea Herbaria. Destroyed in the fire of 1904. See p. 19.

VELLETRI.

Bibl. Capitol. Exultet Roll. Saec. xi ex. See p. 73.

VIENNA.

K. K. Hofbibliothek.

***27.** Saec. x in. Servius, Comment. in Vergilium. See p. 74.

***58.** Saec. x. Virgil, Bucolics, Georgics, Aeneid. See p. 74.

***68.** Saec. x ex. Theodor. Priscianus, Euporiston; Caelius Aurelianus, De morbis acutis. See p. 76.

394. Saec. xii/xiii. Leges Langobardorum. See p. 67.

***903.** Saec. x. Epistolae Pauli.

981. Saec. xii. Comment. in Psalmos. See p. 74.

1106. Saec. xii. Breviarium Benedictinum.

1188. Saec. xi and xii. Vetus Testam. (Genes.–Judic.). Foll. 1–48, saec. xii; foll. 49–222, saec. xi; foll. 223–9, saec. xi in. See p. 74.

3495. *Initial and final fly-leaves (a part of Book iv of Justinian's Institutiones) are in Beneventan writing, saec. xii (according to Dr. J. Bick).*

Universität, Institut für oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung.

Nine liturgical fragments bought by Dr. R. Eisler from a bookbinder of Traù and presented to the University. Fragm. marked HS. A/1, HS. A/2, HS. A/3, and HS. A/4 are in the Bari type of writing, saec. xi/xiii, and seem to be parts of one MS. Fragm. HS. B (Antiphon.) is in the Bari type, saec. xi/xii. HS. D is in the same type, saec. xi ex. HS. E is saec. xi. HS. F is saec. xiii. HS. G is in the Bari type, saec. xii/xiii. See pp. 65, 152.

ZARA.

Archives of the Convent of St. Mary. Codex S. Mariae Iadrensis. Part i is in Beneventan, saec. xii. See p. 65.

Archiepiscopal Archives. Codex monasterii S. Grisogoni. Saec. xii. See p. 65.

ZÜRICH.

Staats-Archiv, Sammelband Ferd. Keller (property of the Antiquarian Society) *S.* 32–42. *Ten fragments* (25 × 18 – 19 × 13 *cm.*) *of a Missal in* 11*th-century Beneventan writing with some features of the Bari type* (*see p.* 150). *The Lausanne leaf mentioned above comes from the same MS.*

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